Stanford University
Libraries

AN

Historical Study of the ē-Vowel

IN

ACCENTED SYLLABLES

IN ENGLISH.

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

BY

EDWIN W. BOWEN, PH. D.

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.
1893.

3781
J65B

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
WITHDRAWN

With compliments of E. W. B.

AN

Historical Study of the ē-Vowel

IN

ACCENTED SYLLABLES

IN ENGLISH.

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

BY

EDWIN W. BOWEN, PH. D.

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.
1893.

3781
J65B

575320

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

INTRODUCTION, - - - - - - - - - - - - 5

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

I.—1. ORIGIN OF A.S. Ǣ, Ē, - - - - - - - - - 7
2. ORIGIN OF A.S. ĒA, ĒO, - - - - - - - - - 11
II.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE Ē-VOWEL IN ANGLO-SAXON, - - - 14
1. By Lengthening, - - - - - - - - - 15
2. By Contraction, - - - - - - - - - 18
3. By Umlaut, - - - - - - - - - - 22
4. By Palatalization, - - - - - - - - - 29
5. By Latin Importations, - - - - - - - - 30
6. By the Influence of w, - - - - - - - - 30

MIDDLE-ENGLISH PERIOD.

III.—THE Ē-VOWEL IN THE SEVERAL M.E. DIALECTS, - - - 32
1. General Remarks, - - - - - - - - - 32
2. East-Midland Dialect, - - - - - - - - 36
3. West-Midland Dialect, - - - - - - - - 42
4. Southern Dialect, - - - - - - - - - 44
5. Kentish Dialect, - - - - - - - - - 46
6. Northern Dialect, - - - - - - - - - 47
7. Dialect which Gave Rise to Standard English, - - - 48

MODERN ENGLISH PERIOD.

IV.—THE EE-VOWEL IN THE MIDDLE TRANSITION AND FIRST MODERN PERIOD, 1500–1600, - - - - - - - - - - 54
V.—THE EE-VOWEL IN THE SECOND MODERN PERIOD, 1600–1700, - 60
2. Medial ie as a Graphic Representative of close ee, - - - 64
3. Development of ee from aa in Modern English, - - - 65
4. Development of ee from ai, ei in Modern English, - - - 69
VI.—THE EE-VOWEL IN THE THIRD MODERN PERIOD AND IN LIVING ENGLISH, - - - - - - - - - - - - 71
2. The Diphthongs ai and ei, - - - - - - - - 74
3. Development of close ee from Latin ǣ, œ̄, - - - - 76
VII.—RESULTS, - - - - - - - - - - - - 77

INTRODUCTION.

This study is an attempt to sketch the development and history of the long e-vowel from Anglo-Saxon to Living English. It has been found convenient in the treatment of the present subject to make three principal divisions which we term the Anglo-Saxon, the Middle and Modern English periods. It is, of course, impossible to draw any hard and fast line between these several periods, but we can determine their approximate limits, which, for our purpose, is sufficient. Following Sweet we may say that the Anglo-Saxon period extends to 1150, though the documents between 1050 and 1150 show the language in a state of transition from Anglo-Saxon to Middle English. Fully developed Middle English has for its inferior and superior limits 1150 and 1450, the period between 1200 and 1400 being especially well marked. The documents written between 1450 and 1500 show the language assuming a somewhat modern aspect and this period is appropriately designated the Middle Transition in contradistinction to the Old Transition extending from 1050 to 1150. Modern English dates from about 1500, and admits of several subdivisions according to centuries, which are followed in the treatment of the modern period.

After brief reference to the origin of the ē-vowel in the Germanic languages, its sources and development in Anglo-Saxon are investigated. Copious examples with their cognates in the Old High German, Old Saxon, Old Norse, and Gothic are given. The West-Saxon dialect, embracing as it does most of the literature of the early period of the language, receives especial attention and is made the basis of the investigation in Anglo-Saxon. But for the sake of completeness the ē-sound in the non-West-Saxon dialects is also investigated. These dialects, however, the Kentish, Mercian, and

Northumbrian, are considered only in so far as they exhibit variations of the ē-sound from the West-Saxon norm.

It will be observed that the section on Anglo-Saxon is not limited to the symbol ē, but includes also the symbol ǣ and the diphthongs ēa and ēo. The reason for this is very obvious. All of these vowels and diphthongs yield, in Middle English, long e, and are, therefore, justly entitled to consideration in this study. So, also, the vowel ā and the diphthongs ai and ei are considered in the section dealing with Modern English, because these symbols came at one time in the modern period to have the value of the vowel ē.

The treatment of the Middle English period is in a manner similar to that of the Anglo-Saxon. A representative text of each of the dialects is selected and made the basis of investigation with regard to the ē-sound. The Ormulum as representing the East-Midland dialect and being more in the line of the subsequent development of the language occupies, for our purpose, the most prominent position among the Middle English texts, and is therefore considered at length. After the examination of the several Middle English dialects attention is drawn to late Middle English, especially to the dialect that gave rise to standard English, as represented in the Chaucerian texts and the London State and Parliamentary documents. In this section it is shown how there were two distinct long e's and what their respective sources in Anglo-Saxon were, and how the domain of long e in Middle English was extended from other sources than English.

A brief review of the Middle Transitional period is given as forming a connecting link between Middle and Modern English, and then the modern period is considered. Here it is shown what the two ē-sounds, open and close, of Middle English developed into during the several centuries of the modern period, and what other vowels and diphthongs, as ā, and ai, ei, came to have the value of long e, and, further, how even these later came to have another sound than the pure ē-sound. So then it appears that the pure phonetic ē-sound, open and close, from being quite a common sound in Anglo-Saxon and far more so in Middle English, came in Early Modern English to be less common, and that this sound in present Living English is of very rare occurrence. For the material of the modern period I have relied almost entirely on Ellis's monumental work, Early English Pronunciation.

An Historical Study of the ē-Vowel.

THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

I.

1. Origin of A.S. Ǣ, Ē.

In the Primitive Germanic vowel system there existed two sounds of long e, one of which corresponds to the Indo-European ē, while the other cannot be traced back, with entire satisfaction, to any definite I.E. sonant. Cf. Brugmann I, § 75, trans. The first of these sounds, viz., Germanic ē corresponding to I.E. ē is assumed to be an open, the second a close sound. To the open Germ. ē, which must have been a low-front-wide vowel, correspond Gothic ē, Old Norse ā, Old Frisian ē, Old Saxon ā, Old High German ā, Anglo-Saxon ǣ(ē). To the close Germ. ē, which must have been a mid-front-narrow vowel, correspond Goth. ē, O.N. ē, O.Fris. ē, O. S. ē, O.H.G. ē (later ea, ia, ie[1]), A.S. ē. Gothic levelled both the Germanic ē's under the close ē-sound. The real Germ. close ē which is a rare sound appears in Gothic in only four words, viz., hēr, Krēks, fēra, mēs. The West-Saxon representative of the Germ. open ē-sound is ǣ for which Sievers assumes a West-Germanic ā. Cf. Paul and Braune's Beiträge VIII, p. 88; Sievers's Grammar of Old English, trans. by Cook, § 57 and § 68. Bremer (cf. P.B.B. XI, p. 1, seq.) and Siebs maintaining the contrary view, hold that W.S. ǣ and O.Fris. ē represent the retention of the Primitive Germ. ē-quality, which, like the I.E. ē, is assumed to be an open sound. The non-W.S. dialects represent the Germ.

[1] Cf. Braune, Ahd. Grammatik, § 35, 48.

open ē by ē, and the non-W.S. dialects and W.S. alike represent the Germ. close ē by ē.

1. The following examples will show the representation in Anglo-Saxon of the Germ. open ē (=Goth. ē, O.H.G. ā, etc.) which appears in West-Saxon as ǣ. This ǣ is a low-front-wide vowel, but is represented in the non-W.S. dialects by a mid-front-narrow sound, ē.

W.S. ǣfen, Merc. ēfen (cf. V.P.[1] 29, 6; 54, 18), O.H.G. āband, O.S. āband.

W.S. bǣl, non-W.S. bēl (cf. Leiden, Erfurt Gloss.), O.N. bāl.

W.S. bǣr, non-W.S. bēr (cf. Epinal Gloss. 137, Erfurt 13), O.H.G. bāra, O.S. bāra.

W.S. brǣð, smell, breath. O.H.G. brādan.

W.S. dǣd, non-W.S. dēd (cf. Merc., V.P. 63, 10), Goth. gadēþs, O.H.G. tāt.

W.S. fǣr, non-W.S. fēr (cf. Corp. Gloss. 419), O.H.G. fāra, O.S. fār, O.N. fār.

W.S. hǣr, non-W.S. hēr (cf. V.P. 34, 13; Corpus 1594), O.H.G. hār, O.S. hār, O.Fris. hēr.

W.S. lǣtan, non-W.S. lētan (cf. V.P. 9, 11; 15, 10), Goth. lētan, O.H.G. lāzan, O.S. lātan.

W.S. lǣð, landed property, cf. Goth. unlēþs.

W.S. mǣl, Goth. mēl, O.H.G. māl, O.S. māl, O.N. māl.

W.S. mǣte, poor, moderate, O.H.G. māza, O.N. māt.

W.S. mǣð, mowing, O.H.G. mād, Gr. ἄμητος. See Kluge: mahd.

W.S. nǣdl, non-W.S. nēdl (cf. Corpus Gloss. 66), Goth. nēþla, O.H.G. nādala, O.S. nādla, O.Fris. nēdle.

W.S. rǣd, non-W.S. rēd (cf. Kent. Chart. 37, 26; 42, 22, etc.), O.H.G. rāt, O.S. rād, O.Fris. rēd, O.N. rāð.

W.S. rǣdan, Goth. rēdan, O.H.G. rātan, O.S. rādan, O.N. rāða.

W.S. sǣd, non-W.S. sēd (cf. V.P. 20, 11; 21, 24, etc.), O.H.G. sāt, O.S. sād, O.Fris. sēd.

W.S. sǣl, non-W.S. sēl (cf. V.P. 13, 3: ungesēlignis), Goth. sēls, O.H.G. sālig, O.S. sālig blessed, fortunate.

W.S. slǣpan, non-W.S. slēpan (cf. V.P. 3, 6; 12, 4, etc.), Goth. slēpan, O.H.G. slāfan, O.S. slāpan, O.Fris. slēpa.

[1] V.P. is the abbreviation for the Vespasian Psalter:—Sweet's O.E. Texts.

W.S. strǣl, non-W.S. strēl (cf. V.P. 90, 6; 56, 5; 10, 3, etc.), O.H.G. strāla.

W.S. swǣs, non-W.S. swēs (cf. Kent. Ch. 37, 25; 42, 16; swēsend), Goth. swēs (cf. Feist, 559), O.H.G. swās, O.S. swās, O.Fris. swēs.

W.S. wǣg, Goth. wēgs, O.H.G. wāg, O.S. wāg, O.Fris. wēg.

W.S. wǣpn, non-W.S. wēpn (cf. V.P. 34, 2; 45, 10, etc.), O.H.G. wāfan, O.S. wāpan, O.Fris. wōpin.

W.S. wǣr, non-W.S. wēr (cf. V.P. 118, 158), O.H.G. wār, O.S. wār, Lat. vērus.

W.S. ǣt, food, O.H.G. āz, Goth. uzēta, afētja (cf. Feist, 141), O.S. āt.

W.S. ǣrende, non-W.S. ērendwreca (cf. V.P. 67, 32), O.H.G. ārunti, O.S. ārundi.

W.S. ǣðm, non-W.S. ēðm (cf. Epinal Gloss. 89), O.H.G. ādum, O.S. ādom.

W.S. ǣs, carrion, O.H.G. āwesi, M.H.G. ās < āwasel (cf. Schade, p. 24).

W.S. blǣd, blast, non-W.S. blēd (cf. Epinal and Corp. Gloss.), O.H.G. blāt.

W.S. grǣdig, non-W.S. grēdig (cf. Epinal Gloss. 500), Goth. grēdags, O.H.G. grātag, O.S. grādag, O.N. grādhugr. See Schade.

W.S. grǣg, non-W.S. grēg (cf. Epinal 473, Corp. 967; grēi), O.H.G. grāt, O.N. grār.

W.S. hwǣr, non-W.S. hwēr (cf. V.P. 41, 4, 10, 11, 78, etc.), O.H.G. hwār, O.S. hwār.

W.S. mǣg, non-W.S. mēg (cf. Epinal 164, Kent Ch. 39, 6; 44, 6), O.H.G. māg, O.S. māg, O.Fris. mēch.

W.S. sprǣc, non-W.S. sprēc, O.H.G. sprāka, sprāhta, O.Fris. sprēka.

W.S. þǣr, non-W.S. þēr (cf. V.P. 22, 2; 35, 13, etc.), O.H.G. dār, O.S. thār.

Here belong further the Pret. Pls. of classes 4 and 5 of Ablant Verbs, as:

W.S. ǣton, non-W.S. ēton, Goth. ētum, O.H.G. āzum.

W.S. bǣdon, non-W.S. bēdon, Goth. bēdum, O.H.G. bātum, O.S. bādun.

W.S. bǣron, non-W.S. bēron, Goth. bērum, O.H.G. bārum, O.S. bārun.

So with the rest, as cwǣlon, hǣlon, brǣcon, etc.

It is noteworthy that the West Germanic ā is retained in Anglo-Saxon when it occurs before *w* and, in some cases, when it occurs in an open syllable followed by a guttural vowel.

A.S. sāwon, Pret. Pl., beside sǣgon, cf. Goth. sēhwum, O.S. sāwun.

So the 2nd sing. Indic. sāwe, and the Pret. Subj. sāwe, sāwen.

A.S. tāwian, getāwe, cf. Goth. tēwa, gatēwjan.

A.S. clāwu beside clēa < * klāwu, klāu, cf. O.H.G. klāwa.

A.S. ðāwan. See Sievers, § 57, cf. Gr. *τήκω*. See Kluge: tauen.

A.S. lāgon, Pret. Pl., beside lǣgon. cf. Goth. lēgun, O.H.G. lāgun, O.S. lāgun.

A.S. wāgon, Pret. Pl., beside wǣgon. See Sievers, § 57, 2, note 3.

So belong here slāpan beside slǣpan, swār beside swǣr, wāt beside wǣt (cf. Goth. watō, O.H.G. wazzar, O.S. water), lācnian, beside lǣcnian (cf. Goth. lēkeis and A.S. lǣce with i-umlaut), māgas beside mǣgas, Fem. māge beside mǣge, wāg beside wǣg, etc.

If, however, i or j follows, i-umlaut results producing ǣ, as lǣwan (cf. Goth. lēwjan < lēw, O.H.G. lāen), ældtǣwe (cf. Goth. tēwa).

2. The Germ. close ē (= Goth. ē, O.S. ē, O.H.G. ea, ie, ia, etc.) appears in all the Anglo-Saxon dialects as ē (mid-front-narrow). This original ē is of very rare occurrence in Anglo-Saxon.

A.S. cēn, torch, O.H.G. kien, * kēn, M.H.G. kien. See Kluge: kien.

A.S. hēr, Goth. hēr, O.H.G. hear, hiar, hier, O.S. hēr, O.Fris. hēr, O.N. hēr.

A.S. lēf, weak, O.S. lēf, O.Fris. lēf.

The ē of the Reduplicated Preterites can not rightly be placed here, because it represents the results of contraction.

So A.S. mēd, meed, Goth. mizdō (< Pre-Germ. mizdhā), Gr. *μισθός*, O.H.G. mēta, (mieta, miata), O.S. mēda, O.Fris. mēde, mīde, meide (Kluge: miete and Feist, 405) does not belong here.

Of ē (mid-front-narrow) as the representative in the Kentish and Anglian dialects of the W.S. ǣ (low-front-wide) it is not necessary to multiply examples.

Origin of the Anglo-Saxon Diphthongs ēa and ēo.

1. *Origin of A.S. ēa.*

The dipthong ēa in Anglo-Saxon represents I.E. au, ou, Germ., West Germ. au which appears in Goth. as au, in Old High German as ou (ō before h and dentals), in Old Saxon as ō, in Old Norse as au (ō before h), in Old Frisian as ā. The development of this diphthong from the Germanic au is through *œu* and *œo* to ēa, the Germ. *a* becoming *æ* in Anglo-Saxon. The first element of the A.S. ēa then is a low-front-wide vowel and the second a low-back-wide vowel. The stress must have been on the first element, for it is certain that the Germ. au was accented on the first element, thus: áu. The lengthening probably began with an exaggeration of the glide vowel between the two elements, as Sweet, History of English Sounds, § 466, suggests. In some of the oldest texts æo actually occurs, as genæot in the Corpus Gloss. Additional evidence that the first element of the diphthong ēa is a low-front-wide vowel, and not a wide-front-narrow, is furnished (1) by the history of its subsequent development in Middle and Modern English, becoming, as it does, open e (ę̄) in Middle English, and being represented by ea in Modern English, and (2) by the fact that in the earliest non-W.S. texts in which this diphthong is simplified before palatals, the vowel æ occurs, as in bæg, hæh in the Corpus Gloss. This diphthong appears in all the dialects as ēa.

A.S. bēan, O.H.G. bōna, O.N. baun, Germ. base baunō.

A.S. dēaf, Goth. daufs, O.H.G. doub, cf. Gr. τυφλός, I.E. √dhubh.

A.S. gedrēag, O.S. gidrōg, O.N. draugr, M.H.G. getrōc.

A.S. drēam, O.S. drōm, cf. Gr. θρῦλος. See Kluge: traum.

A.S. drēam, dream, O.H.G. troum, O.S. drōm, O.N. draumr, Germ. base drauma—cf. O.S. driogan, O.H.G. triogan.

A.S. drēapian, O.H.G. driofan, O.S. driofan, I.E. √dhreub.

A.S. ēac, Goth. auk, O.H.G. ouh, O.S. ōk, O.N. auk, O.Fris. āk.

A.S. ēacah, Goth. aukan, O.H.G. ouhhōn, O.S. ōkian, Lat. augeo.

A.S. ēaga, Goth. augō, O.H.G. auga, O.S. ōga, O.Fris. āge.

A.S. ēare, Goth. auso, O.H.G. ōra, O.S. ōra, O.Fris. āre, O.N. eira, Lat. auris.

A.S. ēanian, to bring forth as a ewe, cf. Goth. awi (in compounds), Dutch dial. oonen, A.S. ēown, Germ. type aunōjan.

A.S. fleah, O.H.G. flōh, O.N. flō, M.H.G. vlō. See Kluge: floh.

A.S. hēan, Goth. hauns, O.H.G. hōnlīh, O.S. hōn, O.Fris. hān.

A.S. hēap, O.H.G. houf, O.S. hōp, O.Fris. hāp. See Kluge: haufe.

A.S. lēac, O.H.G. louh, O.N. laukr. See Kluge: lauch.

A. S. lēaf, Goth. laufs, O.H.G. loub, O.S. lōb, O.Fris. lāf, O.N. lauf.

A.S. lēag, O.H.G. louga, O.N. laug, cf. O.H.G. luhhen. Kluge: lauge.

A.S. lēah, O.H.G. lōh, cf. Lat. lūcus, Germ. base lauka.

A.S. lēad, O.H.G. lōt, M.H.G. lōt, O.Irish luaide. See Kluge, P.G. I, p. 303.

A.S. lēas, cf. Goth. laus (empty), O.H.G. lōs, O.N. lauss, O.Fris. lās.

A.S. sēaƀ, Goth. sauƀs, O.N. sauðr, M.H.G. sōt, O.Fris. sāð. Kluge: sieden.

A.S. scēat, lap, Goth. skauts, O.H.G. scōz, O.N. skaut.

A.S. tēag, rope, O.N. taug, cf. O.Lat. doucō, Goth. tiuhan.

A.S. ðēah, Goth. þauh, O.H.G. dōh, O.N. þō. See Kluge: doch.

A.S. ðrēat, troop, throng, cf. Goth. þrutsfill,—þriutan, O.H.G. thriogan, O.N. þraust, Lat. trūdo. See Kluge: verdriessen.

A.S. dēaw, O.H.G. tou (touwes), O.S. dau, O.N. dogg, Germ. base dauwo—<Pre-Germ. dhawo. See Kluge: tau 2.

A.S. tēam, cf. O.H.G. zoum, O.N. taumr, O.S. tōm, Germ. base tauma-, * taugu̯ma, cf. Goth. tiuhan. See Feist, 72; Kluge: zaum.

A.S. bēam, O.H.G. boum, O.S. bōm, O.Fris. bām, Goth. bagms. Kluge.

Note that in a few words ēaw represents Goth. aggw where ggw stands for I.E. u̯. See Brugmann, § 179. Such words are: A.S. glēaw, Goth. * glaggwus, O.N. gloggr; A.S. hnēaw, stingy; A.S. hēawan; A.S. ðēaw.

In the Northumbrian and Mercian dialects ēa occurs sporadically where W.S. shows ēo (cf. Lindelöf, §§ 22, II. 1.) This is, in all probability, due to the general confusion of the open and close sounds of ē that existed in these dialects: gihēald, Pret. of heal-

dan; gifēall, Pret. of feallan, ablēaw, Pret. blāwan, ðēada for ðēoda, etc.

2. *Origin of A.S. ēo.*

The A.S. ēo represents I.E. eu, Germ. eu, which appears in Goth. as iu, in O.H.G. as iu, and eo, io, ia (when a, e, or o follows), in O.S. as io, in O.N. as jū, jō, in O.Fris. as ia. It is an interesting fact that in the very oldest texts the original eu-forms occasionally appear. Note here such forms as beust (Leiden Gloss. 178), greut (cf. Sweet, O.E.T. p. 622), leuma (cf. ibid. p. 621); spreut (cf. Epinal Gloss. 211), treuleasnis (Epinal Gloss. 726), steupfæder (cf. Sweet, O.E.T. p. 623, etc.) Such spellings as *io*, *iu* are also found, as liof (cf. Kent. Chart. 41, 15, 19, etc.), fliusan, cf. Leiden Rid. 3, etc. A.S. ēo is the narrow diphthong, while ēa is the wide or open diphthong. The first element of ēo is a mid-front-narrow vowel, the second element, a mid-front-narrow sound. The stress was on the first element, as in ēa, and for the same reason. The lengthening, also, as in the case of ēa, began with an exaggeration of the glide between the two elements. This diphthong, like ēa, appears in all the dialects as ēo.

A.S. bēost, O.H.G. biost, O.Fris. biast.

A.S. cēol, O.H.G. chēol, O.N. kjōll.

A.S. clēofan, O.H.G. chlioban, O.S. klioban.

A.S. dēor, Goth. dius, O.H.G. tior, O.N. dȳr (with R-umlaut. Noreen, Altn. Gram., § 68, 7).

A.S. flēos, M.H.G. vlius, vlies. See Kluge: fliess.

A.S. flēot, cf. flēotan, O.N. fljōta, O.S. fliotan, O.H.G. fliozzan.

A.S. frēosan, O.H.G. friosan, O.N. frjōsa, Goth. frius.

A.S. hēope, O.H.G. hiafa, O.S. hiopo.

A.S. mēos, O.H.G. mios, cf. A.S. mos, O.H.G. mos, O.N. mose.

A.S. rēocan, O.H.G. riohhan, cf. O.S. rōk, O.H.G. rouht, O.Fris. rēk.

A.S. sēoc, Goth. siuks, O.H.G. sioh, O.S. siok, O.Fris. siak, O.N. sjūkr.

A.S. sēoðan, O.H.G. siodan, O.N. sjōða, Germ. $\sqrt{\text{seuþ}}$.

A.S. stēor, Goth. stiur, O.H.G. stior, O.N. ðjōrr, Kluge: stier.

A.S. ðēo(h), thigh, O.H.G. dioh, O.N. þjō.

A.S. ðēod, Goth. þiuda, O.H.G. thiota, diota, O.S. thioda, O.Fris. thiade.

A.S. ðēof, O.H.G. diob, O.S. thiof, O.Fris. thiaf, cf. Goth. þiubi.

A.S. ðēote, O.H.G. diozo, cf. ðēotan, O.N. þjōta.

In a few words ēo = Germ. eu (which is itself a contraction), as in :

A.S. fēower, O.H.G. fīor, O.S. fiuwar, fior, O.Fris. fior. Kluge, P.G., I, 403.

A.S. hwēol < hweowol < * hwejwol, cf. Sk. cakra, Gr. κύκλος. Kluge, P.G., I, 331.

A.S. ðēo, Goth. þjus, O.H.G. deo, cf. O.N. þȳr (with i-umlaut).

II.

Development of the Ē-Vowel in Anglo-Saxon.

We have thus far considered only those sounds which were original in Anglo-Saxon. We have seen that the Germanic sounds ǣ and ē were preserved unchanged in Anglo-Saxon, while the diphthongs ēa and ēo, representing Germanic au and eu respectively, have not preserved their Germanic values unchanged. Sievers (Grammar, § 47) states that the transformation which the Germanic vowels have undergone in Anglo-Saxon are essentially of a twofold character. "The mutation of the vowel either takes place independently of its environment, or the latter exercises a determining influence upon it." The first kind of change is exemplified in ēa and ēo from Germanic au and eu which we have already considered. The second kind are phenomena such as lengthening, contraction, the various umlauts, palatalization, etc., which illustrate the development of the vowel under consideration in Anglo-Saxon. To this development let us now turn.

In the earliest literature of our ancestors we observe remarkable linguistic phenomena by which the sphere of the sounds we are at present considering was very materially enlarged. The causes which led to the development of these sounds are, chiefly, the various kinds of lengthening, contraction, the various umlauts, and palatalization, named in the order of their operation. Some of these processes, however, slightly overlap.

1. *Lengthening.*

There are several kinds of lengthening in Anglo-Saxon, viz: lengthening in auslant, lengthening in monosyllables, lengthening by compensation for the loss of consonants, lengthening before certain consonant combinations. The extent of this process cannot be determined with entire accuracy, for the indications of quantity in the MSS. are scanty, and even these indications, few as they are, have not been faithfully reproduced by the editors of the texts. It is difficult to formulate any laws of lengthening from the fact that the phenomena in question vary with the individual dialect both with respect to extent and period of occurrence. The date of this process is also difficult to determine, but we may safely say that the beginning is Pre-Germanic.

1. A.S. ē (mid-front-narrow) in the following words arises from the lengthening of final e of monosyllables, the originally final consonant being lost (cf. Sievers, § 121). The ē preserves its original close quality.

A.S. gē < * ge(r), O.H.G. ir, O.S. gē gī.

A.S. hē < * he(r), Goth. hi- in himma daga, O.S. hē, O.H.G. her, hē.

A.S. mē < * me(r), O.H.G. mir, Goth. Dat. mis, O.S. mī.

A.S. sē, the, that, Goth. sa, O.S. se.

A.S. ðē < * ðe(r), O.H.G. dir, dih, O.S. thic beside thī.

A.S. wē < * we(r), O.H.G. wir, wīr, Goth. weis, O.S. wē.

A.S. nē, nor, Goth. ni (nē), O.H.G. ni, O.S. nek. See Kluge: nein.

2. A.S. ē arises from a tendency to lengthen monosyllabic words ending in a single consonant which may represent an original gemination (Sievers, § 122). These ē's are both open and close, coming from originally open and close e. The open e is written thus: ę.

A.S. bę̄t, Compar. of adv., better, beside regular bę̆t.

A.S. mę̄n, Pl. of man, beside regular mę̆nn.

A.S. gesēt < geseted gesett (PP.) beside regular geset.

So A.S. wēg beside regular weg, wēl beside wel, wēr beside wer.

Note especially the ablant Prets., as bǣd, brǣc, sǣt, etc., which are to be placed here according to Sievers. Sweet (cf. H.E.S, § 406),

on the contrary, would explain the length in these cases as due to the analogy of the Pls. bǣdon, brǣcon, etc.

3. Syncope gives rise to lengthening by compensation in many cases. Syncope of *g* occurs frequently after a palatal vowel and when followed by one of the voiced consonants d, ð, n, with compensatory lengthening as the result. Syncope of *g* takes place also before originally syllabic *n*, likewise causing compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (Sievers, § 214).

A.S. mǣden for mægden, cf. O.H.G. magatīn, O.S. magað.

A.S. wǣn for wægn. See Sievers, § 214, 2.

A.S. sǣde for sægde Pret. of secgan, cf. O.H.G. sageta.

A.S. belēd P.P. for belegd (found in Orosius, 3, 8.).

A.S. brēdan beside bregdan, O.S. bregdan, O.H.G. brettan.

A.S. gēn, ongēn beside ongegn, cf. togegnes.

A.S. lēde, gelēd for legde, gelegde.

A.S. rēn for regn. rēn may be formed by analogy to rēnes.

A.S. strēdan beside stregdan. See Sievers, §§ 389, 214, 3.

A.S. ðēn for ðegn, cf. O.S. thegan, O.H.G. degan, Germ. base thegna-.

A.S. ðēnian beside ðegnian, ðignean, to serve.

A.S. sēde for sǣde (<sægde) occurs in Orosius.

A.S. ongēan against < * onge(a)gn. See Sievers, § 214, 3.

4. Syncope of *h*, in case *h* is preceded by a consonant, also causes compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (Sievers, § 218, 242). Thus arise ēo and ēa, in Anglo-Saxon, in the following words:

A.S. ēoles, Gen. < eolhes,[1] cf. O.H.G. elaho.

A.S. fēolan, to adhere, cf. Pret. fealh, Goth. filhan. See Sievers, § 387, 2, 2.

A.S. fēores, Gen. < feorhes,[1] cf. Nom. feorh, O.H.G. ferah.

A.S. sēoles, Gen. < seolh + es,[1] cf. Nom. seolh, O.H.G. selah, O.N. selr.

5. In the following words ēo is from eo by compensation for the loss of *h* (Sievers, § 222, 2, and note 1.):

A.S. Ēomǣr (proper name) ēored, troop < eoh, horse.

[1] This lengthening is not limited to the Gen., but appears in all the cases having vocalic endings.

A.S. Plēowald (proper name) < pleoh, danger.

A.S. wēobud, wēofud, altar < * wiohbed, cf. Psalter, North. wibed < * wihbed.

6. Syncope of ð before *l* after a short vowel also causes compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (Sievers, § 202). Thus ǣ arises in a few words.

A.S. mǣl beside poetical mæðl, cf. Goth. maþl, O.S. mahal, O.H.G. mahal.

A.S. mǣlan beside mæðlan, maðelian, cf. Goth. maþljan, O.S. mahlian.

A.S. stælan beside stæðlian staðelian < staðal. See Sievers, § 50, n. 1.

A.S. stælwierðe, stalwart, cf. A.S. staðol. See stælan.

It is late before syncope of g before l occurs (Sievers, § 214, 2). A.S. snǣl for snægl.

7. The last kind of lengthening to be considered is that which takes place before certain consonant combinations. But here there seems to be no uniformity, the widest discrepancy existing between one text and another (cf. Sievers, § 124). This phenomenon occurs before a nasal or *r* and *l* + a consonant, as *nd*, *rd*, *mb*, *ld*, etc. It is to be noted that the earliest and most constant examples appear before a nasal or a liquid + a sonant, and further, that these are quite rare till late West Saxon (Sievers, § 124, notes 1, 2). Few cases are found either in the Cura Pastoralis or in the Orosius, but in the later W.S. texts, as Aelfric's Homilies, etc., and the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, and the Psalter, abundant examples occur. The beginning of this process Kluge (cf. Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 866) would place in Primitive Anglo-Saxon. This kind of lengthening has led to the development of many ē's in Anglo-Saxon, both open and close, examples of which are here added.

Before nd:

A.S. ēnde beside regular ende. See Durham Gospels.

A.S. sēndan beside regular sendan. See Matthew's Gospel.

A.S. geēndod beside regular geendod. See Aelfric's Hom.

Before ld:

A.S. fēld besides regular feld. cf M.E. fēld.

A.S. sēldan besides regular seldan. cf M.E. sēlde. See Kluge, P.G. I, p. 879.

So A.S. gēldan, sċēld, wēldan, etc. See Kluge, P.G. I, p. 879.

Before rð, rn, rd:

A.S. ēorðe beside regular eorðe.

A.S. lēornian beside regular leornian.

So A.S. mēord, rēord, cwēorn, ēornost, beside regular meord, reord, cweorn, eornost.

Kluge (P.G. I, p. 879) would cite A.S. sēngan, fēng, tēng, as examples of lengthening of e before ng, and Sweet (H.E.S. § 398) the following isolated cases: ēft (cf. Chronicle), ēsne (cf. Durham Gosp.), stēfne (cf. Luke's Gospel.)

2. *Contraction.*

1. This is the second of the causes which led to the development of the vowel under consideration. We first note here as the result of contraction the ē's of the Reduplicated Prets., which ē's are of course close, arising as they do, from the contraction of e (mid-front-narrow) with other vowels.

A.S. hēt,[1] Pret. of hātan, cf. O.H.G. hiaz; O.S., O.Fris., O.N. show contraction, hēt.

A.S. lēt, Pret. lǣtan, cf. O.H.G. liaz; O.S., O.Fris., O.Norse show contraction, lēt.

So A.S. drēd, rēd, scēd, slēp, lēc, etc.

2. Contraction in many cases is due to a phonetic law by which in primitive Anglo-Saxon syncope of certain medial consonants, as *h*, and occasionally *j* and *w*, occurred. These laws in general with which we are concerned may be found in Sievers' Grammar, the particular references to which are given below. Examples of such contraction are as follows:

A.S. tēn, tēne < * te(h)en, cf. O.H.G. zehan, O.S. tehan.

A.S. twēntig < * twejentig. See Kluge, P.G. I, 879.

A.S. ēce < * ejyci = * ajuki. See ibid. cf. Goth. ajukdūþs.

3. The Psalter shows ē as the result of contraction in the following words (cf. Zeuner, § 15, 3):

[1] These are Reduplicated Perfs. contracted thus: * hé͡hāt ┐* hé͡hăt ┐* hehet ┐ Anglian heht., W.S. hēt. So the remaining forms are the result of similar contraction.

Gefē, Pres. Sulj. gefēon < * gefehe. So Pl. gefēn < * gefehen. Gesē, gesēn, flēn also result in a similar way.

So ofslē, slēs, slēð, Pres. Sing. 1st. Subj., 2nd. and 3rd. Indic. < * sleho, * slehis, etc.

4. A.S. ēa results from the contraction of W.Germ. *a* with *o* or *u*. Cf. Sievers, §§ 111, 173, 218.

A.S. ēa, water, < * a(hw)u, cf. Goth. ahwa, O.H.G. ahwa, O.S. aha, etc.

So the compounds ēar, < * ahwur, etc.

A.S. ēar, ear of grain, < * a(h)ur, cf. O.H.G. ahir, Lat. acus, Kluge: öhre.

A.S. gefēa < * gefa(h)o, cf. Goth. faheþs, O.H.G. gifeho.

A.S. tēar < * ta(h)ur, cf. O.H.G. zaher, Goth. tagr, O.N. tār (Noreen, Altn. Gr. 110), O. Lat. dacruma, Gr. δάκρυ.

Here belong the contract verbs:

A.S. flēan < * fla(h)on.

A.S. lēan < * la(h)on, cf. O.H.G. lahan, O.S. lahan.

A.S. slēan < * la(h)on, cf. Goth. slahan, O.H.G. slahan, O.S. slahan.

A.S. ðwēan < * ðwa(h)on, cf. Goth. thwahan, O.H.G. dwahan, O.S. thwahan.

The results of these verbs exhibit contraction also, as flēa < * fla(h)u; lēa < * la(h)u, slēa, ðwēa.

We encounter some cases of contraction which cannot be justified. Such a case is, for instance, the Pres. Subj. slēa which does not admit of derivation from the basic form (= Goth. slahai). Cf. Sievers, § 110, note 2. Such forms, therefore, must be by analogy to other forms, as slēa Pres. Subj. to the Indic. Pres.

5. A.S. ēa also results from the contraction of Germ. ē, W.G. ā, with *o*, *u*; the ā being shortened to a (Sievers, § 112). The contraction then is the same as the preceding case.

A.S. brēa < * brā(w)u, cf. O.H.G. brāwa. See Sievers, § 118, note 2.

A.S. clēa < * clā(w)u,[1] cf. O.H.G. chlāwa.

A.S. hrēat * hrā(w)o. cf. O.H.G. rō (Gen. rawes), O.N. hrār.

[1] The Epinal Gloss. 29, shows the intermediate step, clawo.

A.S. pēa < * pā(w)o < Acc. Lat. pavonem. cf. O.H.G. pfāwo. Kluge, P.G. I, 311.

A.S. nēan < * nā(h)un. cf. O.S. nāhor. So nēar < * nā(h)or.

A.S. strēaw < * strā(w)o. cf. O.H.G. strō (Gen. strawes).

A.S. ðrēa < * ðra(w)u. cf. O.H.G. drō, drōa (Gen. drawa).

In A.S. wēa beside wawo, the ēa represents earlier au which is a contraction of ā (=Germ. ai) with u (o) (Sievers, § 62, § 118, note 1). cf. Goth. wai, O.H.G. wēwo.

6. In the North. Dialect and the Psalter ēa appears as the contraction of W.G. e with *a* (from *o*). Cf. Lindelöf,[1] § 24, 2. Zeuner,[2] § 20, 2.

Gefēan to rejoice < * fe(h)an. cf. O.H.G. feho, O.S. gifehōn.

Gesēan < * se(h)an. cf. O.H.G. sehan, O.S. sehan.

Fēas, Pl. of feh < * fe(h)as. cf. W.S. fēos, O.S. fehu.

Flēan to flee < * flē(h)an. cf. Sievers, § 166, 2.

Tēan to draw < * tē(h)an. See ibid.

7. ēa[1] also occurs in the Psalter, and in Mercian generally, as the contraction of W.G. ĭ with *a*. See Zeuner, § 20, 2.

Frēa beside freo < * fri(j)a. cf. O.H.G. frī, Goth. freis.

Gefrēas 2nd. Sing. gefrēa (Imper.) gifrēoð < * gefrigan.

8. A.S. ēo appears as the contraction of W.G. e with *o*, *u* (Sievers, § 113). The quality of this ēo resulting from contraction is the same as the original A.S. ēo, that is, close, the sounds which produce it being close.

A.S. sēo, pupil < * se(h)o. cf. sēon.

A.S. swēor < * swe(h)or. cf. O.H.G. swehur, Goth. swaihra, O.S. swehur.

A.S. twēo < * twe(h)o. cf. O.H.G. zweho, O.S. tweho, twehōn.

Here belong the contract verbs of Ablant Class V.

A.S. gefēon < * fe(h)on. So 1st. Sing. gefēo < * gefe(h)u.

A.S. plēon < * ple(h)on. So 1st. Sing. plēo < * ple(h)u.

A.S. sēon < * se(h)(w)on. So 1st. Sing. sēo < * se(hw)u.

9. A.S. ēo arises from the contraction of W.G. i, ī, with *o*, *a*, *u* (Sievers, § 114). This ēo is, of course, a close sound, arising, as it does, from close vowels.

[1] Die Sprache des Rituals von Durham, Helsingfors, 1890.

[2] Die Sprache des Kentischen Psalters (Vespasian A. I.). Halle, 1881.

A.S. fēal < * fī(h)ol. cf. O.H.G. fīhala, fīla, Lal. pīctor, I.E. √pik.

A.S. frēo < * fri(j)a, cf. Psalter frēa, Goth. freis.

A.S. frēond < * fri(j)ond, cf. Goth. frijōnds, Pres. Partcl. frijōn.

A.S. glēo, < * gliu(j)o-, Poetical, cf. W.S. glīeg glīg, Epinal Gl. glīu.

A.S. hēo < * hiu(j)o-, Poetical, cf. W.S. hīw, North. hīu.

A.S. ðrēo < * ðri(j)u, cf. Goth. þrija, O.H.G. driu.

A.S. bēo < * bi(j)a, cf. O.H.G. bīa, North. and Merc. bīa.

A.S. blēo < * blī(j)o, cf. O.S. blī. See Sievers, § 247, note 3.

A.S. bēon < * bi(j)an, cf. Kent, Ch. 37, 6, bion. See Kluge, P.G., I, p. 879.

A.S. bēot < * bi(h)āt, be(h)āt, cf. O.H.G. biheiz. See Sievers, § 43, § 114, 2.

A.S. ēode (Pret. gān) < * ījēde (* ija + de, cf. Goth. iddja), cf. Sk. áyān. See Feist, 309; Kluge, P.G., I, p. 879; ten Brink, Z. f. d. A. 23, 65.

A.S. nēol < * ni(h)old, cf. Corpus nihold;[1] Epinal and Erfurt, nihol.

A.S. frēols < * frī(h)als, cf. Goth. freihals. See Sievers, § 43, note 4.

Here belong the contract verbs of Ablant Class I.

A.S. lēon < * lī(h)on, cf. O.H.G. līhan, Goth. leihwan, O.Fris. līa.

A.S. sēon < * sī(h)on, cf. O.H.G. sīhan, O.N. sīa.

A.S. tēon < * tī(h)on, cf. Goth. gateihan, O.H.G. zīhan, O.S. tīhan.

A.S. wrēon < * wri(h)on.

So the presents: lēo < * līhu, sēo < * sī(h)u, tēo < * tī(h)u, etc.

The Imperatives are probably by analogy to the above forms (Sievers, § 84, note 1). They are lēoh, sēoh, etc.

10. A.S. ēo results from contraction in the following isolated cases:

A.S. ēow, cf. O.H.G. iu. A.S. ēo here represents Germ. iw.

A.S. cēo < * chȳae, cf. Epinal Gloss., 240, chyae.[2]

A.S. rēo < * rȳhae, cf. Epinal Gloss. 1020 ryae;[2] 1080 ryhae;[1] 1081 ryhae;[1] Corpus 2128 ryee,[2] etc.

[1] Here neither syncope nor contraction has taken place.

[2] Here contraction has not taken place.

A.S. bitwēonum < * twihnaim, cf. Goth. tweihnai. See Kluge, P.G., I, 879.

A.S. ēo like ēa, it is to be noted, absorbs the following vowel (Sievers, § 119, 2), as appears from these examples:

A.S. flēon < * fleu(h)on through flēo(h)on.

A.S. tēon < * teo(h)on < * teu(h)on, cf. Lat. dūco < douco.

So the Indic. and Opt. Pres. flēo < * fleo(h)u < * fleuhu; tēo < * tēo(h)u < teuhu; flēo < flēo(h)e < * fleuhe; tēo < * teu(h)e.

It is worthy of note that in the very oldest texts as the Epinal and Corpus Gloss., syncope has not uniformly taken place, and contraction consequently does not always appear. In the later texts, however, these laws are carried out with perfect regularity.

3. *Umlaut.*

This important phenomenon in Anglo-Saxon is defined by Sievers, (§ 85) as follows: "Umlaut, in Germanic Grammar, denotes those mutations of an accented vowel which are caused by a vowel or semi-vowel (j, w) of the following syllable." Of the several kinds of umlaut the i- and palatal umlaut are those with which we are particularly concerned. These umlauts constitute the class which partly assimilates the basic vowel to the following sound, u- and o- umlaut the class which diphthongizes the basic vowel. This mutation is illustrated in the i- umlaut of ō to ē. The ō is a mid-back-narrow-round vowel (long), and the i which causes the umlaut is a high-front-narrow vowel. When this i follows ō in an A.S. word, as * dōmjan, the ō becomes fronted to a mid-front-narrow-round (long) ōe which form is not uncommon in the early non-W.S. texts. Later this ōe is unrounded, and the resulting vowel is ē, the mid-front-narrow (long).[1] It will be readily seen that a remarkable partial assimilation of ō to i is represented in ē as the result of umlaut. Umlaut ē is, therefore, a close sound.

The date of this umlaut has been relatively placed between the palatalization of *k*, *g*, on the one hand, and the common W.G. i-syncope on the other. Cf. Brate, P.B.B. X, 29; Kluge, P.G. I, 870. Pogatscher (Q. u. F. 64, 132) holds that the process was

[1] The steps of the process as illustrated by * dōmjan are: * dōmjan ⅂ dōeman ⅂ dēman.

complete about the year 700. Palatal umlaut hardly dates from pre-historic times.

1. *i-Umlaut.*

1. A.S. ǣ arises from the i-umlaut of ā, Germ. ai. This ǣ is an open sound, viz. the low-front-wide, coming from ā low-back-wide. Anglian as well as W.S. shows ǣ here (cf. Lindelöf, § 16, 1; Brown, § 58).

A.S. ǣgen, cf. Goth. aih (< aigan), O.H.G. eigin, O.S. ēgan.

A.S. ǣg. See Sievers, § 290. n., cf. O.H.G. ei, O.S. ei, Germ. type aijas.

A.S. ǣnig[1] (< ān, cf. Sievers, § 90), cf. O.H.G. einig. See Kluge: ein.

A.S. clǣne, cf. O.H.G. kleini. See Kluge: klein.

A.S. dǣl (i-stem), cf. Goth. dails, O.H.G. teil, O.S. dēl.

A.S. fǣge, cf. O.H.G. feigi, O.N. feigr.

A.S. fǣmne, cf. O.S. fēnmea, fēhmia, O.Fris. fāmne. See P.B.B. 14, 245.

A.S. fǣtt, cf. O.H.G. feitit, feizit, O.N. feitr.

A.S. flǣsc,[1] cf. O.H.G. fleisk, O.S. flēsk, Germ. base flaiski-.

A.S. hǣl (i-stem), cf. O.H.G. heil, O.N. heill, Goth. hails, Germ. hailaz. See Kluge: heil.

A.S. hǣlan (< hāl, cf. Sievers, § 90), cf. Goth. hailjan, O.H.G. heilan.

A.S. hǣst, cf. Goth. haifsts, O.H.G. heist, O.N. heift.

A.S. hlǣder, cf. O.H.G. leitara (older * hleitir). See Kluge: leiter.

A.S. lǣdan, cf. O.H.G. leitan, O.S. lēdian. See Kluge: leiten.

A.S. lǣfan, cf. O.H.G. leiban, O.S. far-lēbian, O.N. leifa.

A.S. lǣran (< A.S. lār), cf. Goth. laisjan, O.S. lērian.

A.S. lǣst, cf. Goth. laists, O.H.G. leists, O.S. gilesti, O.N. leistr.

A.S. sǣ, cf. Goth. saiws, O.H.G. Pl. sewi, Germ. base saiwi-.

A.S. stǣger, stǣgl, cf. O.H.G. steigal, Goth. staiga, steigan. Kluge: steig. See Feist, 535; Kluge, Nom. Staumb., § 189.

[1] In Kent. ē occurs sporadically beside æ as the result of this umlaut. Cf. Dieter, § 6. 2., Sievers, § 151. This may be due to the general tendency of Kent. to narrow the W.S. ǣ. So are found: ēnig (cf. Chart. 38, 11), dēlan (cf. Chart. 45, 31, 37, 31; 41, 31), flēse, nēst, cf. Chart. 42, 22; 38, 12, etc., etc. For further examples see Sweet, O.E.T., p. 593 seq.

A.S. stǣnan, cf. A.S. stān, Goth. stains, O.H.G. stein.

A.S. ǣ (for * ai, cf. Seivers, § 173) cf. O.H.G. ēwa, O.S. ēo, Germ. base aiwi-.

A.S. hrǣ (for * hrāi, cf. ibid.), cf. O.H.G. hrēo, O.S. hrēo, Germ. base hraiwi-.

A.S. rǣran (< rās, Pret. of rīsan), cf. Goth. raisjan.

So gǣst, gǣð, Imper. gǣ beside gā < verb gān.

2. A.S. ǣ arises from the i-umlaut of ā Germ. ē (= W.G. ā) as A.S. lǣwan, nǣgan, etc., cited above.

3. A.S. ǣ arises from the i-umlaut of Lat. ā. Cf. Sievers. § 57.

A.S. lǣden, Latin < Lat. Lātinus. See Sievers, § 57, 1.

A.S. rǣdic < Lat. rādicem, cf. O.H.G, rātēh. Kluge, P.G., I, p. 311.

4. In the Psalter ǣ[1] occurs as the i-umlaut of Germ. *a* before *l* + a consonant (Zeuner, § 4. 2. a).

ǣldes, cf. V.P., 88, 39; 77, 21; 70, 9; 91, 11, etc., cf. W.S. eald, yldo.

mǣltan, cf. V.P., 21, 15; 57, 9; 74, 4; 147, 18, etc. W.S. meltan.

wǣlle, cf. V.P., 11, 2; 8, 13, etc. W.S. welle.

cwǣlman, cf. V.P., 36, 14; V.Hy., 4, 12. W.S. cwelman.

cǣlf, cf. V.P., 105, 19; 28, 6; 68, 32, etc. W.S. cealf.

5. A.S. ē arises from the i-umlaut of ō representing Germ. and W.G. o. This holds good for all the dialects. In the very oldest texts, however, we find the unrounded form (œ). This then appears most frequently in Kentish and Northumbrian, rarely in Mercian or late W.S. (Lindelöf, § 18. 4. II). This œ as well as the ē is a close sound. Examples are very numerous.

A.S. bēc, Gen., Dat. Sing. and Nom., Acc. Pl. of bōc, cf. O.S. Acc. Pl. bōk.

A.S. bēn < Prim. Gen. bōniz. See Sievers, § 269.

A.S. brēc, trousers, Gen. Dat. Sing. and Nom. Acc. Pl. of brōc. See Sievers, § 284.

A.S. brēðer, Dat. of broðer, cf. O.S. Dat. brōder.

A.S. cēcel, cf. Epinal Gloss. cœcil, O.H.G. chuohho.

[1] I write æ long (ǣ) because the æ of the Psalter probably always denotes the long vowel (cf. Sievers, § 151, 1, note).

A.S. cēne, cf. O.H.G. chuoni, O.N. kœnn, Germ. base kōnja-.

A.S. cēpan, Germ. type * kōpjan, Kluge, P.B.B., 8, 538; P.G., I, 897.

A.S. dēman < (A.S. dōm), cf. O.S. adōmian.

A.S. ēfstan (< ōfost), cf. V.P., 69, 2, œfesta; 77, 33, œfestung.

A.S. fēt, Nom., Acc. Pl. and Dat., Instr. Sing. of fōt. Prim. Germ. fōtiz. Sievers, § 281.

A.S. flfflēre (< flōr). See Kluge, Nominale Staumbildungsl., 197.

A.S. fēran, gefēran (< * fōrjan < Pret. Sing., fōr), cf. O.S. forian, Corpus fœran.

A.S. glēd (i-stem) gleed, cf. O.H.G. gluot, O.S. glōdwela.

A.S. gerēfa, cf. O.H.G. ruova, Prim. Germ. -rōfjōn.

A.S. hrēð (i-stem), cf. Hrōðgar, Hrōðmund, Hrōðulf, O.N. hrōð.

A.S. mēder (Dat. Sing. of mōdor), cf. Anglican mœder.

A.S. mēðe, cf. O.S. mōði, O.H.G. muodi, O.N. mōdr, Prim. Germ. mōðja.

A.S. ǫndrēsn (< * ǫndrōsni < * ǫndrōtsni).

A.S. rēcean, beside reccean, cf. O.S. rōkian, O.H.G. ruohhjan.

A.S. sēcan, cf. Pret. sōhte, O.S. sōkian, Goth. sōkjan.

A.S. spēd (i-stem), cf. Anglian spœd, O.S. spōd, O.H.G. spuot.

A.S. stēda, cf. Anglian stœda, O.H.G. stuota. Germ. type stōdjōn.

A.S. swēte, cf. Anglian swœte, O.S. swōti, O.H.G. swuozi, Germ. base swōtja-.

A.S. wrēgan, cf. Anglian wrœgan, O.S. wrōgian, O.H.G. ruogen.

A.S. blēdan, cf. A.S. blōd, German type * blōdjan. See Kluge, P.G., I, 897.

A.S. fēlan (< fōljan), cf. O.H.G. fōljan, O.S. gifōlian. See Kluge, P.G., I, p. 897.

The non-W.S. dialects, especially the Kent., generally write the unrounded ē as glēd, sēcan, cēlan, dēman, bēn, ēðel, brēðer, mēder, spēd, fēt, bēc, swēte, etc. The dominant form in Mercian (cf. Brown, Die sprache des Rush. Gloss. u. Merc. Dialekt, § 49) is ē.

For further examples see Sweet, O.E.T., p. 647, seq.

6. A.S. ē arises from the i-umlaut of ō before nasals representing W.Germ. ā < Germ. ē (Sievers, § 68).

A.S. brēmel, Germ. base brāmila-, cf. A.S. brōm.

A.S. cwēn, cf. Goth. quēns (i-stem), O.S. quān, Sk. -jāni-.

A.S. gecwēme, cf. O.H.G. biquāmi. See Kluge, bequem.

A.S. getēme, suitable, cf. O.H.G. gizāmi.

A.S. wēn, cf. O.H.G. wāni, wān, Goth. wēns, O.S. wān, wānian.

In the non-W.S. dialects, beside ē the unrounded ǣ is often found, as cwǣn, cwǣman, wǣnan, etc.

7. A.S. ē arises from the i-uml. of ō which represents older ǫ́n, Germ. an (Sievers, § 94). For the secondary lengthening of this vowel, see Sievers, § 185. The older texts and the non-W.S. dialects, in general, quite frequently show the unrounded ǣ beside ē. The quality of this ē, like the remaining umlaut ē's, is close, since the open ǫ́, on being lengthened in consequence of the loss of the nasal before the surd spirants, became close ō.

A.S. ēhtan (< ōht). Merc. ǣhtan (V.P., 17, 38), Germ. type *anhtian, *anhtō, I.E. √angh. See Kluge: acht.

A.S. ēðian (cf. Merc. ǫ́nǣðung, V.P., 17, 16) cf. A.S. ǣðm, O.N. anda, ǫ́nd (Gen. andar).

A.S. fēhst, fēhth, 2nd, 3rd Ind. of fōn. See Sievers, § 94, c.

A.S. fēða (cf. Corpus, 787, 840; V.Hy., 5, 6: fǣða, Germ. base *fanþjo.

A.S. gēs (< *gōsi < *gonsi < *gansi), cf. O.H.G. gans, Germ. ghans-.

A.S. gesēðan beside gesōðian (< sōð), cf. Goth. sunja, sunjis, Germ. base sun(d)jō, I.E. sont-, Lat. sonticus in Leg. XII Tab. Henry's Gr. § 123.

A.S. nēðan, cf. O.S. nādian, O.H.G. nę́ndjan, Goth. *-nanþjan.

A.S. sēfte (cf. Adv. sōfte), cf. O.S. sā́fto, Goth. samjan, O.H.G. samfti.

A.S. smēðe (Corpus, 1610, V.Hy., 12, 7, smœthu), Germ. base, smonþja-.

A.S. tēð (< tōði- < tonði- < tanði-, cf. Kluge: zahne, cf. Goth. tunþus, O.H.G. zant, O.S. tand, Germ. base, tanþ-, tunþ- < I.E. dont-, dnt-. See Kluge.

A.S. ēsa (< ōs- God, Sievers, §§ 66, 281), cf. O.H.G. Ans-, O.N. aso,- Ās-. See Grimm's Teutonic Mythology ed. by Stallybrass, p. 25.

8. It is to be borne in mind that ē occurs sporadically in W.S. as the i-umlaut of ēa (< Germ. au). Cf. Cosijn, Alt. W.S. Gram.,

p. 111, § 97. The regular W.S. form is īe, later ī, ȳ. This sporadic ē for regular īe, ī, ȳ, must be due to Kentish[1] influence, in which dialect the regular umlaut of ēa is ē. This class of words is of special importance, for some of them continue and become fixed in Middle English, and are preserved in Modern English. Such, for instance, is hēran.

W.S. dēgal beside regular W.S. dīegal, dīgal, dȳgal.

W.S. gēman, hēhst, hēnan, hēran, hērsumian, hērman, lēfan, gelēfan, nēdan, geflēman, alēsan, etc., beside regular W.S. gīeman, etc., hīhst, etc., hīran, etc., līfan, etc., etc.

9. In the Kent. dialect ē appears as the regular i-umlaut of ēa (= Germ. au) and ēo (= Germ. eu). The Kent. Glosses sometimes show ȳ. ēo, however, is generally free from i-umlaut in the non-W.S. dialects. Mercian regularly exhibits ē beside ǣ and ei, which are of rare occurrence. In North. ē appears beside ei as the i-umlaut of ēa. The quality of this umlaut is doubtless close, since the first element of the diphthong ēa from which it arises goes back to an original open sound, which, as we have seen, is represented in the non-W.S. dialects by the close ē.

hēnan (cf. W.S. hȳnan, etc.). Cf. Corpus Gloss. gehende, Sweet, O.E.T.

hēran (cf. W.S. hīeran, etc.). Cf. Chart, 48, 3. Sweet, O.E.T., p. 174.

cēgan (cf. W.S. cīgan). See V.P., 17, 4; 14, 2, 4, etc.

gelēfan (cf. W.S. gelȳfan); hlēt (cf. W.S. hlīet); nēd (cf. W.S. nīed).

So lēg flame over against W.S. līeg, līg, etc.

10. A.S. ēow arises in a few words from the i-umlaut of au, older awi (Sievers, § 73).

A.S. ēowde, cf. Goth. awēþi, O.H.G. ęwit. See Feist, 68.

A.S. ēowestre, cf. Goth. awistr (< *awi + wistr, Feist, 68), O.H.G. ęwist.

A.S. ēowu, cf. above. Germ. base awi-, cf. Lat. ovis.

A.S. mēowle, cf. Goth. mawilō, diminutive of mawi.

A.S. strēowede, cf. O.H.G. strẹwita, Goth. strawida, Pret. of straujan.

[1] Or to Mercian, in which dialect likewise the umlaut of ēa is ē.

2. *Palatal Umlaut.*

1. This umlaut, though of secondary importance in W.S., is quite extensive in its operation in the non-W.S. dialects. Its operation in W.S. is not till late. In late W.S. ē appears as the palatal umlaut of ēa. Here the following palatal in proximity to the open diphthong ēa causes a simplification and narrowing, so that, with a slight raising, a long mid-front-narrow vowel (ē) results.

Before h (x):

L.W.S. hēhsta beside regular W.S. hēahst, hīehst, hȳhst.

L.W.S. nēh beside regular W.S. nēah. See Sievers, § 101.

So tēh, ðēh beside regular W.S. tēah, ðēah. See ibid.

Before g and c:

L.W.S. bēg, ēge beside regular W.S. bēag, bēah, ēage.

L.W.S. bēcn, cēc, gelēc, tō ēcan beside regular W.S. bēacm, cēac, galēac, ēacan.

2. Likewise in late W.S. ē appears after the palatals g, c, sc, for the regular ēa (Sievers, § 102). It is to be noted that this umlaut rarely occurs in an open syllable.

L.W.S. cēs beside regular W.S. cēas, Pret. of cēosan.

L.W.S. gēr beside regular W.S. gēar, cf. Gen., Dat. Pl. gēara, gēarum.

So L.W.S. gescēd, gēt, ongēn, scēp, scēt, gēton for regular W.S. gescēad, gēat, Pret. of gēotan, ongēan, scēap, scēat, Pret. of scēotan, gēaton, Pret. Pl. of gēotan.

3. In the non-W.S. dialects ē[1] appears as the palatal umlaut of ēa and ēo. It is hardly necessary to state that this ē is a close sound. Cf. Zeuner, § 19, III, Dieter, § 22, II; 26, II, Lindelöf, § 22, III. The Kentish Glosses, however, generally retain the ēa and ēo before palatals (Sievers, §§ 163, 165).

[1] In the very oldest documents, as the Corpus, Erfurt Gloss., etc., and in the Durham Ritual and R′, æ occurs sporadically for this ē before palatals. hæh, cf. Corp., 1960, tæg, bæg, cf. Corpus, 1339; randbæg, cf. Erfurt, 1156; æc, cf. Kent Chart., 39, 9, 14, 27, etc.; Durham Ritual, 7, 6; R′, 24, 27; ðæh, cf. Durham Ritual, 48, 9, etc., R′, 15, 20. So gæc, belæc, etc. For further examples see Sweet, O.E.T., p. 613, ff.

Non-W.S. bēg, cf. W.S. bēag; non-W.S. lēgan, cf. W.S. lēogan; non-W.S. ēge, cf. W.S. ēage; non-W.S. flēgan, cf. W.S. flēogan; non-W.S. ēc, cf. W.S. ēac; non-W.S. nēh, cf. W.S. nēah.

So non-W.S. hēh, þēh, lēht, etc., for W.S. hēah, þēah, lēoht, etc.[1]

4. *Palatalization.*

1. The palatals ǵ, ć, sć, when initial, have a singular effect on the primary palatal vowels æ, ǣ, e, converting them into ea, ēa, ie, respectively. In a similar position the palatal semi-vowel j unites with the vowels a (æ) and o to form gea, geo (Sievers, § 74). Thus arises in W.S. ēa from the union of the palatals ǵ, ć, sć with ǣ (= Germ. ē). It is to be noted that the non-W.S. dialects do not diphthongize the vowel after these palatals, ǵ, ć, sć, but retain the ǣ, which these dialects represent by ē (Sievers, § 157, 2; 391, 2). The diphthong results in W.S. from the development of the glide when the tongue passes from the position of the palatal to that of the vowel, from high to low.[2]

W.S. gēafon (for * gǣfon), cf. non-W.S. gēfun.

W.S. gēaton (for * gǣton), cf. non-W.S. gētun.

W.S. scēaron (for * scǣron).

W.S. scēap (for * scǣp), non-W.S. scēp.

So cīese, cȳse, umlauted form of * cēasi for * cǣsi < Lat. cāseus.

2. So ēa results from the combination j (Germ. j) with ǣ (Sievers, § 74) in the following words:

W.S. gēa for * gǣ, cf. O.H.G. jā. See Kluge: ja.

W.S. gēar for * gǣr, cf. non-W.S. gēr, cf. Goth. jēr, O.H.G., O.S. jār.

We have now completed the survey of the chief causes which led to the development in Anglo-Saxon of the vowel under consideration. But there remain to be considered two less important sources from which a few ē's were developed in Anglo-Saxon. The first of these is Latin from which words were imported into Anglo-Saxon; the second is the influence of w.

[1] R′ often shows ēo unchanged in these words (Brown, § 63).

[2] The sporadic scēoc, scēod, scēot, etc., for scōc, scōd, etc., may be placed here (Sievers, § 76, 1).

5. *Importations from Latin.*

1. ǣ arises in A.S. from Lat. ā (Sievers, § 57).

A.S. nǣp, turnip, < Lat. nāpus, cf. O.N. nǣpa. See Kluge, P.G., I, p. 310.

A.S. strǣt, street, < Lat. strāta (via), cf. O.H.G. strazza. See ibid.

A.S. strǣgl, strǣl, corpet, < Lat. strāgulum. See ibid.

A.S. sǣternesdæg, Saturday, < Lat. sāturni dies, cf. Fris. saterdei. See ibid.

2. ēa[1] arises in A.S. from Latin au in the following words:

A.S. cēac, basin < Lat. caucus, cf. O.Irish cuach. See Kluge, P.G., I, 309.

A.S. cēas, strife < Lat. causa, cf. O.H.G. chōso. See ibid.

3. ēo arises in A.S. from Lat. in the following words:

A.S. dēofol < Lat. diabolus, cf. O.S. diubul, O.H.G. tioval. Kluge: teufel.

A.S. prēost cannot be placed here since it is < Lat. presbyter, or is a mutilated form as * prēster, cf. O.H.G. priester, O.S. prēster, O.N. prestr. See Kluge, priester; Pogatscher, Q. u. F., 64.

6. *Influence of w.*

1. The combinations aw and ew originally generated a *u* between the vowel and the *w;* the auw and the euw thus formed passed regularly into ēaw, ēow (Sievers, § 73, 1).

A.S. fēawe Pl. cf. Goth. fawi, O.N. fār, Lat. paucus.

A.S. scēawian, cf. Goth. usskawjan, O.S. skawōn.

A.S. cnēowes, Gen. of cnēo, cf. O.H.G. knēwes, Gen. of chniu, Goth. kniu.

A.S. trēowes, Gen. of trēo, cf. Goth. triu, Gen. triwis.

2. In late W.S. ēo arises by the transformation of final ēw into ēow (Sievers, § 113, note; § 371, note). So result L.W.S. flēowð for regular flēwð, sprēowð for regular W.S. spēwð.

[1] ēa in A.S. Grēocas, Crēocas (< Lat. Grǣci, Grēci) beside A.S. Grēcas, Crēcas appears to be the palatalization of Lat. ǣ, late Lat. ē, before c. See Kluge, P.G., I, p. 310; Pogatscher, Q. u. F., 64, 5.

It may be noted that in the Northumbrian, W.S. ēow was often reduced to ew (Sievers, § 156, 5; Lindelöf, § 22, IV). So result fewer, gitrewia, cf. L.W.S. fēower, gitrēowia.

We have now seen what was the original stock of the ē-vowel (both open and close), and of the diphthongs ēa and ēo. We have further seen how this original stock was very largely increased by the development of ē (open and close) and ēa and ēo, on native soil; and we have seen that this development was brought about by four chief causes, viz., various kinds of lengthening, contraction, and umlaut, and the influence of palatals, and by two subordinate causes, viz., the importation of Latin words and the influence of w. With this survey then we are prepared to consider the problem before us at another and more advanced stage of the language. But before turning to the Middle English period, we desire to draw attention more particularly to some of the phenomena hitherto merely mentioned which late W.S. exhibits. Such are the reduction to the monothong ē of the diphthongs ēa and ēo under the influence of the following palatals h (x), g, c, and, also, under the influence of the preceding palatals, g, c, sc; and ē as the i-umlaut form of ēa, as dēgol, gēman, hēran, etc. These phenomena are found in all the late W.S. texts. Others are found only in special texts.[1] Some of these exceptional forms of which many might be cited are: dēd for dǣd, forbæran for forberan, efre for æfre, trewe for trēowe, wælhrewan for wælhrēowan, blæda for blēda, æcere for ēcere, twægen for twēgan, æce for ēce, hele for hǣle, helend for hǣlend, ðera for ðǣra, ondredende for ondrǣdende, æc for ēac, ðes for ðæs, reddon for ræddon, feringa for fǣringa, weron for wǣron, hælle for helle, cweð for cwæð, etc., etc.

These forms, which are, of course, of sporadic occurrence, do not seem to be governed by any fixed or definite law. They appear rather to be the first indications in late W.S. of the setting in of a tendency which reached its climax in Middle English, where order and method are found. In view of the changes which in Middle English have taken place in the vowel-sounds, special significance

[1] The texts from which these exceptional forms are taken are the Homilies of Wulfstan, herausg. von Arthur Napier, Berlin, 1883; and the Harrowing of Hell from the A.S. version of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus as represented in MS. Cotton Vitellius, A, XV. (C, the Béowulf MS.).

seems to attach to these exceptional late W.S. occurrences as showing the tendency of the language at that period of its history.

MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD.

III.

The Ē-Vowel in the Several M.E. Dialects.

1. *General Remarks.*

In Middle English there are four distinct dialects which represent, in the main, the continuation of the Anglo-Saxon dialects. These dialects are designated in Middle English the Northern, Midland, Southern and Kentish. Of these the Midland admits of further division into East Midland, which is quite closely related to the Southern, and the West Midland, which is related to the Northern. Whenever these dialects were geographically connected, they were not so sharply differentiated, and so admixture of forms resulted. This confusion of dialects is especially noticeable in late Middle English.

If we compare Middle English texts with Anglo-Saxon texts, we observe marked differences. Now these changes did not all take place simultaneously, but gradually. Some of the dialects changed much more rapidly than others. The Northern, for example, changed far in advance of the others. The Southern, on the contrary, was very conservative. The earliest standard M.E. text which shows the changes which Anglo-Saxon vowels have undergone is the Ormulum, written probably before 1200, in the East Midland dialect. But even in this text the changes are not fully developed. We shall have occasion later to recur to this text when we shall consider it at length.

There are two principles in Middle English which must not be overlooked, and these we now consider at the outset. They are lengthening and shortening before certain consonant combinations.

The process of lengthening before certain consonant combinations was recognized, as we have seen, in Anglo-Saxon. But in Middle

English this process is far more extensive in its operation. As in Anglo-Saxon, so in Middle English, the consonant combinations that cause secondary lengthening in the preceding vowel consist of vowel-likes + a consonant which must be voiced, as ld, rd, nd, etc. (Kluge, P.G., I, p. 866, § 83; Sweet, H.E.S., § 635). Orm does not lengthen the vowel before such combinations as nc, nt, etc., as the writing drannc, drinnkenn, sallt, stunnt, hellpenn, etc., shows. The lengthening of the Infinitive and Participle of many verbs is by analogy to the monosyllabic Pret. Compare fānd whose Infin., if formed regularly, should be finndenn; whereas by analogy to the Pret. it is fīndenn. So with the Partcl. fūndenn. Those verbs not having a monosyllabic Pret. retain their short vowel, as senndenn Pret. sennde, Ptcl. sennd; brinngenn, brohhte, etc. This secondary lengthening is regularly prevented by back-shortening. So, Orm writes clene, but clennsenn.

Another kind of lengthening peculiar to Middle English is that which takes place in open syllables. But it must be borne in mind that only certain vowels, viz., a, e, o, lengthen in open syllables, the high vowels i and u not being subject to this lengthening in open syllables. So we find in M.E. fāren, ētan, hōpen, over against A.S. făran, ĕtan, hŏpen. It is difficult to determine the date of the beginning of this process. At the time of the Ormulum (1200) the process has certainly begun. Something quite like it appears sporadically in late A.S. texts. We meet in Aelfric's Homilies such forms as hērian, hāfenleast, hǣfene, for the regular herian, hafenleast, hæfene; and in the Gospels ētan ētað (ic) ēte, etc., for etan, etc. (cf. Mark), all of which Sweet (H.E.S., § 392) has pointed out. Perhaps too much stress is not to be laid on these sporadic occurrences in late Anglo-Saxon, but they appear to be significant as showing the beginning of a tendency which reached its climax in Middle English. The Ormulum seems to represent the transitional stage, for Orm writes the same words frequently both long and short, as hete beside hĕte, mete beside mĕte, mele beside mĕle, etc. The symbol (˘) is frequently written over a vowel in an open syllable, as lăte, hĕte, lădeun, tăkeun, spĕkeun, etc., which would seem to indicate a recognized tendency to lengthen the vowel in open syllables. At all events it appears then that the beginning of this process must be placed at least as early as the Ormulum (1200).

As there is lengthening in Middle English before certain consonant combinations, so there is shortening also before certain consonant combinations. Long vowels in Middle English are shortened before certain combinations of consonants, as st, ht, tt, dd, etc., etc. This process is especially exemplified in the domain of the weak Prets., and of compounds, as fedde, ledde, Pret. of fēden, lēden, laffdig < A.S. hlǣfdige, etc. It is noteworthy that Orm often preserves the original length before st, as brest, prest, æst, læst, etc. This process, too, according to Kluge, P.G., I, p. 868, seems to date from A.S. times. M.E. samdead points back to A.S. sam (with short a) and not to sām, since A.S. ā would give M.E. ō, except in the Northern dialect. So A.S. seoþþan, syþþan beside siþþ points back to short i, siþþan, and not to long ī, sīþþan, because only short i is subject to breaking. The examples of this process of shortening in Anglo-Saxon are, of course, of very rare occurrence. We may assume the date of this process to be the 11th and 12th centuries.

These two processes affect materially the problem before us, the one largely increasing, the other somewhat diminishing, the stock of ē's in Middle English.

The most marked of the M.E. vowel changes is the simplification of the A.S. diphthongs ea, ēa, eo, ēo. This change was generally carried out in all the dialects except the Kentish, which preserved the old diphthongs. This must have been a gradual change. It is found in the most important old transitional document, the Peterborough Chronicle (Laud MS.), written between 1132 and 1154. Traces of it, as we have seen, appear in late A.S. documents. The process is still incomplete in the Ormulum, the diphthongs ēa and ēo and the monothongs ę́ and ē existing side by side. By the time of Chaucer the diphthongs have all been simplified in the dialect in which he wrote.

There existed in M.E., as in A.S., two distinct long e's, one of which was an open sound, the other a close sound. These two sounds are continued from A.S. and are referable to different sources, as was shown. They are sharply differentiated in M.E., but are sometimes found combined in rime. The following is a tabular view of the more important sources of the M.E. close and open ē:

ē appears in M.E. from the following A.S. sources:

1. A.S. ē, i-umlaut of Germ. ā: cwēn (< *cwāni), wēn (< *wāni).
2. A.S. ē, i-umlaut of ō, Germ. ō: sēcan, swēte.
3. A.S. ē, i-umlaut of ēa, Germ. au: non-W.S. hēran, lēfan.
4. A.S. ēo corresponding to Germ. eu: dēor, frēosan.
5. A.S. e before ld, etc.: feld, eld.

ę̄ appears in M.E. from the following A.S. sources:

1. A.S. ēa corresponding to Germ. au: lēas (Goth. laus), ēage, Goth. augo, drēam.
2. A.S. ǣ corresponding to Germ. ǣ, W.G. ā: sǣd, dǣd, mǣl.
3. A.S. ǣ, i-uml. of ā: lǣran, lǣdan, clǣne.
4. A.S. e in open syllables: mete, etan, specan.

But it must be noted that both 2 and 3 gave in M.E. not ę̄ exclusively, but also ē. The reason for this apparent confusion in M.E. is obvious. It will be remembered that these sounds had different values even in A.S. The W.S., for example, preserved the Germ. ǣ (low-front-wide), while the non-W.S. dialects changed it to ē (mid-front-narrow). Again, the i-umlaut of ā is in W.S. ǣ, but in the Kentish dialect, on the contrary, it is ē (mid-front-narrow). So then we see that these A.S. sounds are preserved in M.E., thus causing an apparent confusion between the open and close sounds of long e.

As the foregoing table shows, A.S. ǣ and ēa regularly became ę̄ (low-front-wide) in M.E. The ēa after the simplification had taken place was preserved in M.E., for, as we saw, this sound in A.S. though written ēa was really an open sound ǣo. Orm represents this by the symbol æ with perfect regularity, as does, also, Layamon frequently. Of course in these earlier M.E. texts ēa is also found beside ǣ and ē. This ǣ (low-front-wide) was probably later in M.E. raised to the mid position. The A.S. ē (mid-front-narrow) is retained in M.E., and with this M.E. ē, coincides the ē which arises from A.S. e by lengthening before ld, etc. A.S. ēo is simplified, and the resulting ē (mid-front-narrow) is preserved in M.E. In the earliest M.E. texts ēo occurs beside the simplified ē. A.S. e of whatever origin became M.E. ę̄ in open

syllables. See Ten Brink, Chaucer's Spr. u. Versk, § 11. See further, however, Kluge, Geschichte d. Eng. Spr., § 96 (Paul's Grundriss, I., p. 878).

As to the graphic representation of the two sounds of ē in M.E. there is no uniform distinction. Orm, however, distinguishes between them, writing for the open sound uniformly æ, and for the close sound, e. In the earliest Southern dialect (cf. Ancren Riwle) ea is used, but not regularly, to represent the open sound, and in the West Midland æ, but not exclusively nor with perfect regularity, e being also employed to represent the same sound. In the other dialects no graphic distinction is made between the open and the close sound, the symbol e being used for both. In late M.E. the same is true of all the dialects, with this difference that ee is also employed.

Having taken this preliminary survey and dealt in a general way with the present problem in M.E., we are now prepared to enter upon the detailed proof of the sources of M.E. ē and ę̄. The best method for accomplishing this end appears to be that furnished by a careful examination of the texts of each of the M.E. dialects. We have accordingly chosen representative texts of each of the dialects and examined them, noting from what sources M.E. ē and ę̄ arose. The texts selected for this investigation are as follows: Kent.: Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, ed. by Morris (Early Eng. Text Soc., 23); South.: Ancren Riwle, ed. by Morton (Camden Soc.); East Mid.: Ormulum (reëd. by Holt from White's ed.); West Mid.: Layamon's Brut (ed. by Madden); North.: Richard Rolle de Hampole's Pricke of Conscience, (ed. by Morris, Phil. Soc. of London, 1863). Chaucer of course is examined as representing the dialect which gave rise to standard English.

2. *The East-Midland Dialect.*

One of the most important M.E. texts is written in this dialect and deserves, for obvious reasons, especial investigation. It is, of course, the Ormulum. The best edition of this text yet issued is that by Holt (Oxford, 1878), which is based on White's (Oxford, 1852). It is unnecessary to make any strictures on the unsatisfac-

tory condition of Holt's text on which, with but slight reference to White's edition and Kölbing's collation (Englische Studien, I, 1), the following investigation is based.

ǣ (low-front-wide vowel).

1. A.S. ǣ (low-front-wide) corresponding to Germ. ǣ is retained in the Orm. as ǣ or is represented by ē, which probably is the close sound. The ē's are doubtless due to Mercian influence, in which dialect the W.S. open ǣ sound was represented by the close ē.

sed seed, cf. Merc. sēd, v. 5070, 15905. sæd does not occur.
dede deed, cf. dēd, 2267, 4723, 7817, 7918, etc. dæd does not occur.
nedle needle, cf. Merc. nētl, 6341. nædle does not occur.
bære bier, cf. W.S. bær, 8167, 8172. bere does not occur.
tælenn to blame, cf. W.S. tælan, 2033, 2039, 2040.
hær hair, cf. W.S. hær, 3208, 9223. here does not occur.
efenn evening, cf. Merc. ēfen, 4353, 8910. æfen does not occur.
ræd, cf. W.S. ræd, 12464, 12502, 18719. rede does not occur.
rædenn, cf. W.S. rædan, 17286, 18336. reden does not occur.
slæpenn, cf. W.S. slæpan, 7483. slepenn does not occur.
slæpe, cf. W.S. slæp; slep, cf. Merc. slēp, 3143, 3152.
drædenn, cf. W.S. drædan; dredan, cf. Merc. drēdan, 1218, 5907, 11493.
lætenn, cf. W.S. lætan; letenn < Merc. lētan, 2017, 9058, 10157.

Here belong the Pret. Pls. and Subjs. of Ablaut classes IV. and V., as bærenn, 14046, bære, 2029, 2047.

2. A.S. ǣ, i-umlaut of ā, is retained in the Orm., e being sometimes found which is perhaps to be referred to Merc. ē.

lærenn, cf. W.S. læran, 1781, 6129, 6215. leren does not occur.
dælenn, cf. W.S. dælan, 6175, 8326. delenn does not occur.
del, cf. Merc. dēl (?), 1722; dale, 8270, 8273.
hæle, cf. W.S. hæl, 5378, 15503. hele does not occur.
hælenn, cf. W.S. hælan, 2528, 3047. helen does not occur.
flæsh, cf. W.S. flæsc, 3524, 3652. flesh does not occur.
clænnesse, cf. W.S. clæn, 1194, 4594, 4598. clennesse does not occur.

clene, cf. Merc. clēne, 1592, 2447, 2932. clæne does not occur.
ledenn, cf. Merc. lēdan (?), 938, 1612. lædenn does not occur.
gredigȝnesse, cf. Merc. grēdig (?), 10210, 10213. So gredigliȝ, 12280.
sel, cf. Merc. sēl (?), 14304. sæl does not occur.

3. A.S. ǣ (= Latin ā and its i-umlaut) is preserved in the Ormulum, as in stræte from A.S. strǣt.

The list of examples given under 1 and 2 exhibits some variation as to the employment of æ and e. For W.S. ǣ (= Germ. ǣ) the Ormulum shows usually æ, which of course is an open sound. Sometimes e is found which is probably to be referred to the non-W.S., or to be more specific, to the Merc. ē, a close sound. So æ representing A.S. ǣ (= i-umlaut of ā) is usually preserved in the Ormulum, but e is occasionally found. It will be remembered that in the Merc. dialect this sound is sometimes represented by ē, though generally by ǣ, as in the other dialects. See Brown, p. 69. These e's found in the Ormulum then are probably the survivals of the exceptional Merc. ē's, and represent a close sound. In general, it may be said that æ in Orm. is long (Kluge, P.G., I, 882) and indicates an open sound, while e may be either long or short and indicates a close sound.

ēa, Open Diphthong.

1. A.S. ēa of whatever origin becomes æ in Orm, which of course has the same value as the æ already discussed, since after simplification it represents the identical open ē-sound (ǣ) of A.S.

ære, cf. A.S. ēare, Dedication, 133, 309.
hæp, cf. A.S. hēap, 4230; læs, cf. A.S. lēas, 14208.
dæf, cf. A.S. dēaf, 9887, 15500; læfess, cf. A.S. lēaf, 13737.
dræm, cf. A.S. drēam, 923; dæw, cf. A.S. dēaw, 9883.
þæw, cf. ðēaw, 3159, 6754.
hæwenn, cf. A.S. hēawan, 9285, 9965.
fæwe, cf. A.S. fēawe, fēa, 424, 13013.
shæwenn, cf. A.S. scēawian, 251, 958, 1041.
æ, river, cf. A.S. ēa, 7091.
tæm, offspring, cf. A.S. tēam, 2415.
tæress, cf. A.S. tēar, 13849.

Exceptions. Two forms ec and eȝhe occur which must be from Merc. ēc, ēge. Otherwise, A.S. ēa before palatals must have already become close ē. Shep and ger beside gær occur which must be from Merc. ē forms, as scēp, gēr, and not from W.S. scēap, gēar, which would give shæp, gær.

ē (mid-front-narrow vowel).

1. A.S. ē of whatever origin is retained in the Ormulum, and of course represents the long-mid-front-narrow sound. her, here, hére, < A.S. hēr (of frequent occurrence).

So belong here the Prets. of the reduplicating verbs which show ē as let < A.S. lēt, etc.,[1] etc., and the Prons. he, me, we, etc.

Here fall further the umlaut ē's, as kene < A.S. cēne, 16139, 19962; kepenn < A.S. cēpan, 17978; cwen, fet, smeþe, sekenn, gledess, etc., etc. herenn,[2] 923, 5377; gemenn, lefenn, etc.

ēo, Close Diphthong.

1. A.S. ēo of whatever origin is simplified to ē (mid-front-narrow) in the Ormulum, or remains unchanged. See, however, Hale's Art, Mod. Lang. Notes, VIII., p. 21.

deor beside der < A.S. dēor, 1177, 1312.
þeode beside þede < A.S. ðēod, 1762, 3436.
seoc beside sec < A.S. sēoc, 6165, 8073.
wheol beside whel < A.S. hwēol, 3639, 5897.
fleon beside flen < A.S. flēon, 2934, 4144.
seon beside sen < A.S. sēon, 318, 2449.
freo beside fre < A.S. frēo, 2968, 8015.
freond beside frend < A.S. frēond, 1609, 2367.
fend < A.S. fēond, 5554, 12354.
ȝede < A.S. ēode, 119, 136, 413.
deofell beside defell < A.S. dēofol, 671, 3832.
preost beside prest < A.S. prēost, 219, 338, 461.

[1] slæpenn has gone over to the weak Conj. in the Pret. and shortened the ē, so that it appears as sleppte, slepptenn; drædenn and rædenn have followed the same course.

[2] These must be from the Merc. ē, i-umlaut of ēa.

Lengthening.

1. Lengthening before certain consonant combinations produces the following cases of ǣ and ē in the Ormulum:

ærd[1] < A.S. eard, 1394, 1416, 2153.
flærd < A.S. gefleard, 7334, 10027.
gærd < A.S. geard or O.N. garðr, 15254.
swerd < A.S. sweord, 6639, 8146.
werdenn < A.S. werden, 5185, 5189, 6255.
ferd, brerd, etc. < A.S. brerd, 14040, 14792.

So ærn[1] < A.S. earn, bærn < A.S. bearn, ernenn < A.S. eornan, lernenn < A.S. leornian, cherl < A.S. ceorl, eorless < A.S. eorl, erþe eorþe < A.S. eorðe, feld < A.S. feld, weldenn < A.S. wealdan, geldenn < A.S. geldan, elde < A.S. eld, beldenn < A.S. beldan, well < A.S. well, genge < A.S. geng, ende < A.S. ende, wendenn < A.S. wendan, sendenn < A.S. sendan, etc., etc.

2. In open syllables. In the Ormulum e may of course represent either the long or short sound. See Anglia, VII., Anz., 95, ibid, VIII., 196.

brekenn < A.S. brecan, 1547; swerenn < A.S. swerian, 4480; spekenn < A.S. specan, 2733, 3389; wrekenn < A.S. wrecan, 914, 19900; fele < A.S. fela; tredenn < A.S. tredan; etenn < A.S. etan; hefenn < A.S. hebban, etc.

Shortening.

The process of shortening explains ĕ[2] in the following words where we should expect ē:

fell Pret. of fallen < A.S. fēol, 620, 897, 2505.
blettcenn < A.S. blētsian, 2298, 4826.
clennseun < A.S. Adj. clēne, 1126, 4028, 4463.

So fedde < A.S. fēdde, Pret. of fēdan; keppte < A.S. cēpte; demmde < A.S. dēmde; wesste < A.S. wēsten.

[1] Lengthening before rn, rd seems to have taken place before ea was simplified to a, as ærn, ærd, etc., show.

[2] The regular shortening of ǣ is a, as in wraþþe < A.S. wrǣð, lasse (A.S. lǣssa), lasstenn, laffdiȝ, etc. The same is true of ēa, as in shadde, shadd, etc. The steps are probably these: ǣ ⟩ æ ⟩ a, ēa ⟩ ea ⟩ a. That is to say, æ and ēa were shortened to æ and ea, respectively, which coincided with all A.S. æ's and ea's, and these of course regularly became M.E. a.

This process is especially exemplified in the comparatives, as derre, etc., and in the Prets. of weak verbs. In a few verbs the Pret. is formed on the Pres. that exists in Orm. and does not represent the A.S. Pret., as weppte, ledde, etc.

Old Norse Influence in the Ormulum.

The Old Norse element[1] in Orm. is quite important and cannot be ignored since it contributed quite a large number of words containing ē, ę́, some of which still survive in Living English.

1. O.N. ē appears in O. as ē (mid-front-narrow):

heþenn, hence, cf. O.N. hēðan hæþan, 15570, 16092. heþennwarrd.
ser, separate, cf. Icel. ser, 18653, seq., 18678; serlepess, 513, 519, 573.

2. O.N. ǣ apart from i-umlaut appears in O. as ē:

þeþeun, thence, cf. Icel. þaþan, O.N. þǣþan, 1098, 7492.
So þeþennforth, thenceforth, 10786, 11180, 12930.
wheþennwarrd, whence, cf. Icel. hvaðan, 16668, 17292.
leȝhe, hire, 6234; leȝhemenn, 6222 (cf. Icel. leiga), show the later reduction of the O.N. ei to e.—Brate.

3. O.N. ǣ, i-uml. of ō appears in O. as ē:

epeþþ, cries v. < O.N. ōpa (< *vōpa, cf. A.S. wēpan), 9198, 9562.
sleh, cunning < O.N. slœ̄gr. Icel. slaegr, 13498.
fére, sufficiency, cf. O.N. unfœrr, Icel. fœ̄r, 1251, 4429.
semeþþ, seems, cf. Icel. sama, sömme, A.S. sēman, Ded. 66.

4. O.N. iū, io become ē in O.

mec beside meoc < O.N. mjūkr, 667, 1258.
So the compounds meoclike, meocleȝȝc, and the verb mekenn
skët < O.N. skjōtr, soon, 1266, 2297.

5. O.N. ę́, i- and R-umlaut of ā appears in O. as ǣ, which must represent the open sound.

gætenn, to direct, preserve, cf. Icel. gæta, 2079, 3765.
gætelæs, careless. See above, 6190.
sæte, seat, sitting, cf. Icel. sæti, 11959, 11972, 14007.

[1] Cf. Brate, P.B.B., X, 1 seq.; Kluge, P.G., I, p. 791.

hæþenn, v. to scorn, cf. Icel. hæða, to scoff at, 13682.
hæþeliȝ, scornfully, cf. Icel. hæþiligr, 7408, 11593.
hæþinng, scorn, cf. Icel. hæþing, 240, 4876, 7391.
wælinng < * wælen, cf. O.N. vēla, to deceive, 2192.
wengess, wings, cf. Icel. vængr, 8024, 16433.

These e's and ē's from O.N. coalesce with the ē's and ē's from A.S. and share their subsequent fate.

It will be seen then that æ which is always long in Orm. regularly represents the open sound, and e the close sound of long e. eo is also used for the latter sound, but does not differ at all from e. In the later East-Midland texts the open sound is sometimes graphically represented by e.

The examples of lengthening and shortening given for East-Midland may serve for Middle English in general, so that it will not be necessary to multiply examples of these phenomena in each of the remaining dialects.

So much then, for Orm. and the East-Midland dialects. We pass on now to Layamon as the next author.

3. *The West-Midland Dialect.*

In this dialect, especially in the text we consider, the distinction between the open and the close ē is not carried out with so perfect regularity as in the Ormulum. In general, we may say that æ and ea in Layamon represent the open ē-sound, but not always, since the same sound is sometimes represented by e simply. The close sound is generally represented by e. In the later MS.[1] of Layamon e is frequently used to represent the æ of the earlier MS.

æ.

æ in Layamon represents A.S. ǣ generally, and A.S. ēa, ē, and ā, occasionally.

1. æ in Lay. for A.S. ǣ appears in the following: æven, A., l. 1116; ær, A., l. 372; ælc, A., l. 4260; clæne, A., l. 6290; flæsc, A., l. 25986; læche, A., l. 17679; læfdi, A., l. 1256; dæden, A., l. 10440; ræd, A., l. 1648; sæle, A., l. 10527; mæste, A., l.

[1] A is used to indicate the older MS. and B the younger.

27482; wæpne, A., l. 1702; sæ, A., l. 1093. In Redupl. verbs: slæpe, A., l. 733; læte, A., l. 8662; and in the Pret. Pl. of Abl. class IV. and V: spæken, A., l. 13444; æten, A., l. 13444, etc. Of course e also occurs here.

2. æ in Lay. represents A.S. ēa: dæth, A., l. 20676; dræm, A., l. 8649; hæh, A., l. 7094, beside heh; dæd, A., l. 2569, beside dede; hæp, A., l. 816, beside hep; læsinge, A., l. 3068, beside lesinge; næh, þaeh, etc. So the Pret. Sing. of Abl. class II.: bæd, A., l. 2454; chæs, A., l. 12175; læs, A., l. 637, etc., etc.

3. æ in Lay. represents A.S. ā: æð beside að, A., l. 704, 4340; bræð beside brad, A., l. 14, 219; clæð beside clað, A., l. 22878; gære beside gare, A., l. 15225; hæl beside hal, A., l. 1252, etc.

Conversely, Lay. sporadically represents A.S. æ by ā: flasc beside flæsc, clane beside clæne, aven beside æven, rad beside ræd, A., l. 4411; baren beside bæron, B., l. 26483, etc., etc.

4. æ in Lay. in the older MS. occasionally represents A.S. ē: hæt for A.S. hēt; wæste, A., l. 9932, for weste; hær for her, A., l. 3164, etc., etc.

ea in Lay. represents A.S. ēa, and occasionally A.S. æ, ē, and ēo.

1. ea in Lay. represents A.S. ēa: dead, A.B., l. 3911; dream, A., l. 1010; deathe, A.B., l. 1733; ȝeare, A., l. 2671; cheap, A., l. 385; heap, bead, B., l. 9023; leas, A., l. 6931, B., l. 21251, etc., etc.

2. ea in Lay. represents A.S. æ: cleane, B., l. 6290; deal, A., B., l. 2995; deade, A., B., l. 6895; heale, B., l. 23072; read, A., B., l. 691; sea, A., l. 123, eaven, A., l. 19570, etc.

3. ea in Lay. represents A.S. ē rarely: deam, B., l. 24250, for deme; cweane, B., l. 24555, for cwēne, etc.

4. ea in Lay. in MS. B. rarely represents A.S. ēo: deap, B., l. 647, for deop; weap, B., l. 25533, for weop; leame for leome, etc.

e in Lay. represents A.S. ē, ēa, eo, and occasionally A.S. æ.

1. e in Lay. represents A.S. ē of whatever origin: demen, A., l. 11074, 19979; quene, A., l. 43, 182; weste, A., l. 1124, 25662; blessinge, A., l. 13261; kene, A., l. 11499; grene, A., l. 24652; mete, A., l. 18127; her, A., l. 21; wene, A., l. 18752; swete, A., l. 19797, etc., etc.

2. e in Lay. represents A.S. æ occasionally, or perhaps non-W.S. ē: er, A., l. 1581; del, A., l. 2951; clene, A., l. 32078;

dede, A., l. 21072; leche, A., l. 17759, B., l. 19746; slepe, B., l. 610, etc.

3. e in Lay. represents A.S. ēa: chepmon, A., l. 30681, B., l. 13313; bred, A., l. 31800; ded, A., l. 28317; deth, A.B., l. 285; drem, A., l. 24554, B., l. 1009; heh, A., l. 559; hepe, lesinge, neh, etc., etc. So the Pret. Sing. of Abl. class II, bed, beh, fleh, les, etc.

4. e in Lay. represents A.S. ēo, though eo is frequently retained: breste, A., l. 6497; der, A., l. 313; depre, A., l. 15901; fre, A., l. 5225; frend, A., l. 5531, B., l. 3705; lef, A., l. 30361, B., l. 344; thede, A., l. 25464;—Pres. of Ablant class II: crepe, A., l. 29313; fleghe, etc.; Prets. of Redupl. verbs; cnew, B., l. 3501, fellen, held, hewe, etc.

eo in Lay. rep. A.S. ēo: deop, A., B., l. 21997; deor, A., B., l. 6438; feond, A., B., l. 237; freond, A., B., l. 708; leof, A., B., l. 585; freo, A., B., l. 361, etc. So belong here Pres. of Ablant class II: beode, cheose, leose, etc.; Redupl. Prets.: greowen, wex, weoxen, etc.

In a few words eo and ea are confused in Lay.: heop for heap, B., l. 16308; leos for leas, B., l. 6931, etc.

Such then is the result of the investigation in Layamon. It is very clear that, while the open sound is represented generally by æ and ea, and the close sound by e and eo, there is yet much confusion. In the later West-Midland texts æ and ea are represented by e simply, so that no graphic distinction is made between the open and the close sound of long e.

4. *The Southern Dialect.*

In the Ancren Riwle we meet only three graphic representations of the long e-sound, viz., ea, e, eo. Of these ea represents the open sound and eo the close sound, while e represents both the open and the close sound.

1. ea in A.R. represents A.S. ēa of whatever origin: ear, pp. 90, 100, 104, etc.; eadi, pp. 28, 142, 146, 154, etc.; lease, p. 268; leasunge, pp. 82, 424; dream, pp. 210, 214; leave, p. 230; bileave, p. 280; deaþ, p. 6; dead, p. 112; adeaden, p. 112; scheawen, pp. 90, 98, 154, 292, 344; reaven, pp. 68, 96, 286, 300, 396; team, pp. 216, 288, 336; þeaw, pp. 88, 158, 200, 240, 276,

etc.; wean, pp. 80, 108, 114, 156, etc.; strea, p. 295; loþleas, p. 188; weamode, pp. 118, 134, etc., etc.

2. ea in A.R. represents A.S. ǣ: eaver, p. 4; leafdi, p. 4; cleane, pp. 4, 8; dealen, p. 224, 248, 400; learen, p. 64; healen, p. 330; tear, p. 64; read, pp. 6, 198, 224, etc.

e in A.R. represents:

1. A.S. ē of whatever origin: her, pp. 236, 240, 246, 262, 264, etc.; cwene, pp. 88, 170, 296, etc.; cwemen, pp. 138, 192, 238, etc.; fere, pp. 114, 152, 206, 284, etc.; sechen, pp. 164, 274; gleden, pp. 122, 406; kene, pp. 130, 140, 190, 272; kepen, pp. 156, 190, 286, 332, etc.; vet, fet, pp. 122, 166, 274, etc.; wenen, pp. 62, 64, 106, 128, etc.; smeþe, pp. 4, 184, etc., etc.

2. A.S. ǣ, though ea also occurs. This e is doubtless an open sound. Examples are: leten, pp. 6, 8, 12, 102, 268, etc.; dreden beside dreaden, pp. 222, 428; slepen, pp. 238, 270, 272, 212, etc.; dedbote, pp. 206, 348, 372, etc.; her, pp. 10, 130, 382, etc.; leren, pp. 108, 114, etc.; del, p. 276; delen, pp. 28, 38, 248, etc.; hele, pp. 300, 312; clene, pp. 154, 164; leche, pp. 178, 182, etc., etc.

3. A.S. ēa, though ēa is generally retained (unsimplified). This ē representing A.S. ēa must also be an open sound. Examples are not numerous. ec, pp. 168, 236, 240; chepman, p. 418; temen, pp. 220, 288, 308; bed, Pret., p. 270, etc.

4. A.S. ēo. This is a close sound. Examples are rare since A.S. ēo is retained in A.R. in the unsimplified form. sec, seke, pp. 176, 370; comp. seccure, p. 46; derewurþ beside deorwurþ, p. 98.

eo in A.R. represents:

1. A.S. ēo of whatever origin, and of course is a close sound. deore, pp. 190, 329, 408; deorewurþ, pp. 98, 102, 106, 112; deorling, p. 336; freo, p. 370; fleon, vleon, pp. 132, 134; eode, pp. 52, 152, 128, 220, 260, 318; deofle, pp. 84, 232; fleotende, fleose, deop, feolle, leof, dreor, breost, þeode, vreond, heold, weop, etc., etc.

There was a tendency in the Southern dialect, as well as in the Kentish, to preserve the old diphthongs, which, of course, retained their original values.

5. *The Kentish Dialect.*

In the Ayenbite of Inwyt and in the Kentish dialect in general the preservation of the old diphthongs ēa and ēo[1] is remarkable. Here the open ē is represented by ea and e, the close ē by io and e.

1. ea in the Ayenbite of Inwyt represents A.S. ēa. Occasionally there is produced before the ea, *y*, which is a kind of glide. dyeaþ, pp. 72, 86, 87, 129, 130, etc.; year, p. 71; stream, pp. 72, 98; beleave, pp. 72, 101, 106, 123; tyeares, pp. 74, 83, 96, etc.; great, pp. 75, 76, 77, etc.; cheas, p. 77; leasinges, p. 77, dyead, p. 79; veawe, pp. 162, 254; þreapneth, pp. 79, 162, etc.; beat, beag, eare, heaved, heap, etc.

1. e in the Ayenbite of Inwyt represents A.S. ē of whatever origin. wepeþ, pp. 71, 73, 83, 93, etc.; benes, pp. 74, 90, 98, etc.; deme, pp. 74, 76, 82, etc.; weneþ, pp. 21, 22, 82, etc.; zvete, pp. 82, 83, 92, etc.; mede, pp. 42, 90, etc.; zeche, pp. 94, 98, etc.; heryeþ, pp. 59, 92, 177, etc.; her, p. 88; quene, queme, bedes, gret, het, teþ, vet, weri, etc.

2. e in the Ayenbite of Inwyt represents A.S. ǣ of whatever origin. But it must be remembered that in A.S. the W.S. ǣ was represented in the Old Kentish dialect by ē. So then this e in the Kentish is really a close sound, since it represents the retention of the old Kentish ē (= W.S. ǣ).

mest, pp. 72, 89, 90, 92. etc.; teche, pp. 73, 78, 96, etc.; clene, p. 73; clenliche, pp. 76, 88, 92, etc.; yclensed, p. 73; dredeþ, pp. 74, 75, 84, etc.; lede pp. 76, 44, 96, 116, etc; dele, p. 90; del, pp. 17, 86, etc.; lessa, pp. 76, 90, etc; speche, pp. 89, 90, 91; zed, pp. 95, 143, 216, etc.; dedes, blest, bleve, brede, eþen, hele, here, let, rede, etc.

3. e represents the old Kentish ē before z, where W.S. exhibits ēa. This e, standing for old Kent. ē (mid-front-narrow), is, therefore, the close vowel.

eȝe, pp. 19, 75, 81; heȝnesse, pp. 89, 97, 102, etc., etc.

4. e (ie, ye in Dan Michel) represents the old Kentish īo. mede, myede, pp. 63, 73, 95, 142, etc.; tyene, pp. 31, 66, 124, etc.; þyef, þyeve, pp. 37, 79, 263, etc.; þyester, pp. 45, 264, 266,

[1] A.S. ēo appears in Old Kentish almost exclusively as īo.

276, etc.; bryest, pp. 175, 247; cryepe, p. 107; dyepe, pp. 105, 211, 264; lief, lyef, pp. 117, 213; lyerne, lierne, pp. 72, 73, 99, etc.; chiese, chyese, p. 86, etc., dyevels, dievels, etc., pp. 77, 82, 83, 86; viend, veyend, pp. 75, 79, 117, etc.; vryend, vriend, vrend, pp. 30, 67, 79, etc.

It will be seen that most of the ē's in the Kentish dialect are close, and that the open sound is generally represented by ea.

We take up next Richard Rolle de Hampole's Pricke of Conscience, the text on which the investigation in the Northern dialect is based.

6. *The Northern Dialect.*

In the Northern dialect, especially as represented in the Pricke of Conscience, the most important document, we find only one symbol used to represent both the open and the close ē. This dialect, always in advance of the other M.E. dialects in exhibiting vowel-changes, has reduced all the A.S. diphthongs to monothongs. The majority of the ē's we have to deal with are close, coming as they do, from the old Northumbrian dialect which generally represented the W.S. open ǣ by ē (mid-front-narrow).

e of the North. dialect arises from various sources and represents:

1. A.S. ǣ of whatever origin: drede, ll. 291, 294, 328, etc.; dede, l. 2484; red, rede, ll. 2014, 4303, 6085; red (verb), ll. 1677, 3953, 6286; breþe, l. 613; fere, l. 2291; teche, reche, ete, l. 4848; lere, ll. 155, 174, 175, 186, etc.; dele, l. 3460; hele, ll. 757, 1326, etc.; lef, clene, lede, fleshe, etc., etc.

2. A.S. ēa of whatever origin: ches, l. 2132; grete, ll. 742, 8499, 8511, etc.; eke, ll. 3256, 6239; eghe, ll. 574, 2234, etc.; ere, l. 782; neghe, l. 1208; dede, ll. 112, 807, 815, etc.; reve, ll. 251, 308; lesyng, l. 4274; heghe, ll. 1872, 1887; deef, heed, þewes, etc., etc.

3. A.S. ē of whatever origin: here, ll. 220, 1019, 1024, etc.; spede, l. 2882; kene, ll. 1228, 4383, etc.; reck, rekles, ll. 5546, 5792, etc.; spede, ll. 5, 2682, etc.; smeþe, l. 6349; mede, l. 96, etc.; medeful, wene, reke, quene, kepe, hede, here, etc., etc.

4. A.S. ēo of whatever origin: der, dere, ll. 2978, 3019; þef, ll. 1237, 5210; seke, ll. 672, 798, etc.; ferþe, ll. 356, 1246, etc.; flegh, l. 4394; fende, ll. 36, 1253, 4160; frend, ll. 1116, 3941, etc.;

hew, l. 4889; lefe, l. 2978; grete, ll. 502, 5392, etc.; dregh, drery, devel, chese, cleve, crepe, bete, etc., etc.

Having completed the survey of each of the M.E. dialects we are now prepared to consider the dialects that gave rise to Standard English, especially as represented in Chaucer and in the London State and Parliamentary documents[1] during the period embraced between the dates 1384 and 1430.

7. *The Dialect which Gave Rise to Standard English.*

1. In this dialect, as in all the M.E. dialects proper, we have the two sounds of long e. As to the graphic representation of the two sounds in this dialect, there is no distinction made, both being written e and ee, indifferently. The best MSS. of the Canterbury Tales, according to Ten Brink, usually write ee in closed syllables. In open syllables e is generally written. Exceptions, however, are numerous.

ē in this dialect (as represented in Chaucer and the London State and Parliamentary documents) corresponds to:

1. A.S. ē of whatever origin: chese (cheese), fete, demen, seken, wenen, grete (to greet), mete, weep, wepe, slepe, swete, heng (< A.S. hēng), reeve (< A.S. gerēfa), teeth, lete, fele, etc., etc.; here[2] (< non-W.S. hēran, cf. W.S. hīeran), leeve, bileeve[2] (< non-W.S. lēfan, cf. W.S. līefan), etc.

2. A.S. e before consonant combinations which cause lengthening: feld, feeld, sheeld, selde, seelde, etc.

3. A.S. ēo of whatever origin: theef,[3] leef, feend, freend, seek, knee, tree, breest, deer, depe, deep, cheesen, reesen (< A.S. hrēosan),

[1] The language of these documents has been investigated by Morsbach in his Neuenglische Schriftsprache (Heilbronn, 1888), of whose results I have availed myself.

[2] These forms go back to non-W.S. forms in which the i-umlaut of ēa is ē.

[3] Chaucerian texts exhibit ie occasionally for A.S. ēo, īo, where we should expect e, ee. Especially does this ie occur before f, as in thief, lief, etc. The value of this ie is doubtless close ē, as the rime shows. The explanation of this phenomenon is possibly to be sought, not in the Southern or Midland dialect, but in the Kentish where, as was pointed out, ie, ye, regularly corresponds to A.S. ēo, īo. Cf. Ten Brink, Ch. Spr. u. Versk., § 39. French influence, of course, cannot be ignored in this case. See, however, Behrens, Beiträge zur der Geschichte der Französischen Sprache in England, p. 146 seq.—Französische Studien, V. Band, 2 Heft.

se (< A.S. sēon), be (< A.S. bēon). Reduplicating Prets.: heeld, leep (< A.S. hlēop), etc., etc.

4. M.E. ę́ in final position. When ę́ in M.E. occurs in final position, it becomes close, as slee beside slę́th, slę́st, etc. See Ten Brink, Ch. sp. u. Versk., § 23, d.

5. A.S. ǣ, ē (=Germ. ǣ, and i-umlaut of ā) occasionally: deed, drede, sleep, sleepen (verb), leche, eel, sheep, meet (suitable), mete (measure), clene, leeren, etc.

Note.—These ē-forms can be explained as coming from the non-W.S. dialects.

ę́ corresponds to:

1. A.S. ǣ of whatever origin: breeth, deel (< A.S. dǣl), eer (< A.S. ǣr), feer (< A.S. fǣr), meste (< A.S. mǣst), shethe (< A.S. scǣð), threed (< A.S. þrǣd), even (< A.S. ǣfen), hele, speche, mede, reden, there, where, streete, eet, etc.

In final position this M.E. ę́ becomes close. Some of the above list of words sometimes appear with ē (mid-front-narrow). See above under 4.

2. A.S. ēa[1] of whatever origin: breed (< A.S. brēad), deed (< A.S. dēad), deef, dreem, ere, eere (< A.S. ēare), beem, heep, greet (< A.S. grēat), leef, cheep, chepe, deth, teer (< tēar), steep (< A.S. stēap), lepen (< A.S. hlēapan), streem, heed, hed (< A.S. hēafod), red (< A.S. rēad). So Pret. Sings. of Ablant class II., as creep, etc., etc.

3. A.S. e, ea in open syllables: bere (< A.S. bera), beren (v. < A.S. beran), breken, dere (< A.S. deran), eren, mete (< A.S. mete), sp(r)eken, gere (< A.S. gearu), sweren, teren, weeren (< A.S. weran), etc., etc.

In this dialect there are some words that appear with both ę́ and ē. It will be seen on examination that these words go back to ǣ. A.S. ǣ corresponding to Germ. ǣ, as was shown in the section on Anglo-Saxon, is represented in W.S. by ǣ and in non-W.S. dialects by ē (mid-front-narrow). These two sounds were retained side by side in M.E., as we have seen, the W.S. ǣ giving ę́, the non-W.S.

[1] In the London State documents ē appears before palatals, from A.S. ēa where we should expect ę́. But it will be remembered that even in A.S. this ēa was narrowed to ē before palatals in Anglian and in late W.S., and it is quite natural that some of these ē's (mid-front-narrow) should find their way into M.E.

ē giving ē. In the dialect we are now considering both these sounds appear in such words as deed, drede, reden, sleep, etc. The natural inference, then, is that the ę́-forms are from the W.S. ǣ, and that the ē-forms are from the non-W.S. (Merc.) ē. Such words as sheep, etc., which show exclusively ē are clearly from non-W.S. forms only. Such words, on the other hand, as show ę́ exclusively, as most of these words do, are, of course, from W.S. ǣ.

A few words from A.S. ǣ, i-umlaut of ā vary between ę́ and ē. As a rule this dialect represents this A.S. ǣ by ę́, but there are a few words which show both ę́ and ē, as clene, leden, leren, etc. The above explanation holds good for these words also. The ę́-forms are from W.S. ǣ, while the ē-forms are from non-W.S. (Kent.) ē.

This explanation is of especial importance, for it serves to clear up the difficulty attaching to a class of words in Modern English represented by seed, deed, speech, sleep, etc., where we should expect the spelling ea.

2. *Romance Element in Middle English.*

It remains now to consider the Romance Element in M.E. which furnishes quite a large number of both sounds of long e. Since this element is especially prominent in late M.E., particularly in the dialect under present consideration, it seems proper that the examples cited should be taken from Chaucer, the greatest of the late M.E. authors, and that these should be regarded as representative of the entire M.E. period.

The French words introduced into English at this period came from the Anglo-Norman dialect. These importations were gradually changed more and more under French influence, and later were made to conform to a French model. This statement pre-supposes the well-established fact that the Anglo-Norman dialect, representing the original Franco-Norman transplanted on English soil, had a development peculiar to itself and independent of that of the various other Old French dialects. These importations show both ē and ę́.

ē[1] represents:

1. O.Fr. e from Latin a, except when followed by l. It is worthy of note that Latin a, whether long or short, is usually repre-

[1] I follow Ten Brink in this classification.

sented in O.Fr. by an e-sound, written e or ai. The Anglo-Norman prefers simple vowels, and so we find here generally e. peer, comper (< O.Fr. per < Lat. par), sopeer, soper (O.Fr. soper), frere, freer (< O.Fr. frere < Lat. fratrem), clere (O.Fr. cler < Lat. clarum), entree (O.Fr. entree), auctoritee (O.Fr. id. < Lat. auctoritatem), degree (O.Fr. degre < Lat. de + gradum), pitee (< O.Fr. pite < Lat. pietatem), etc., etc.

2. O.Fr. e = Lat. ē, Gr. η, seldom Lat. æ, Gr. αι,[1] in open syllables: procede (O.Fr. proceder < Lat. procedere), succede; quiete, quyte (O.Fr. quiete < Lat. quietum), diademe (O.Fr. diademe), planete (O.Fr. planete < Lat. planta(m)?), dissevere, hyene, etc., etc. Proper names: Diomede, Ganymede, Crete, etc., etc.

3. O.Fr. ie, which in Anglo-Norman was reduced to e: acheve (O.Fr. achever, achiever < Lat. ad caput venire), archeer (O.Fr. archier < Lat. arcarius), carpenteer (< O.Fr. carpentier), bokeleer (< O.Fr. bocler, bouclier < Lat. bucula), contene, chere, daungeer, fevere, greve, greef, manere, mescheef, etc., etc.

4. Anglo-Norman simplification of O.Fr. ue (= Lat. ŏ): beef (O.Fr. buef < Lat. bovem), meve, remeve (O.Fr. remuer < Lat. movere), peeple (O.Fr. pueple, etc. < Lat. populum), preve, repreve, etc., cf. O.Fr. 3rd Pl. proevent of pruver < Lat. probare), etc., etc.

ę̄ represents:

1. O.Fr. e = Lat. a before l. This is the exception to § 1 of the ē category, q. v. condicioneel (O.Fr. condicionel < Lat. condicionalis), crewel < *crudalis.—Ten Brink), effectueel (O.Fr. effectuel), eterneel (O.Fr. eternel), natureel (O.Fr. naturel), temporeel, etc.

2. O.Fr. e = Lat. e, i, or æ, in tonic syllables: enquere, requere (O.Fr. enquerre < Lat. quaerere), prees, preese (O.Fr. presse(r), cf. Lat. premere), ciprees (O.Fr. cipres). Proper names: Boece, Boesse, Grece, Lucrece, Lucresse, etc. We may also place here were, werre (O.Fr. werre < O.H.G. werra), where O.Fr. e corresponds to Germ. e.

3. The simplification[2] of the diphthong ęi which corresponds to an older Fr. ei or ai: apese (O.Fr. apaiser < pais < Lat. pacem),

[1] Rarely Lat. oe, Gr. οι, as comedie, tragedie.

[2] This simplification occurs especially before s and t, and sometimes before r.

dees (O.Fr. deis), encreese (O.Fr. encreistre), relees (O.Fr. relaisser), disese (O.Fr. desaise), plese (O.Fr. plaisir, pleisir < Lat. placare), treson (O.Fr. triesum, tresun < Lat. tra(d)itionem), resoun, sesoun, contrefete, plete, pees, etc.

4. The contraction of pretonic ei or e, and tonic ę́ and a: seel (O.Fr. seiel, seel < Lat. sigillum, sigellum), reme (O. Fr. realme, reaume < Lat. regalis), meene (O. Fr. meien, moien < Lat. medius).

5. The name of the city Lepe.

Some of the words given in these lists may not seem, at first glance, to be entitled to a place here, since we are, of course, dealing only with accented syllables. The explanation of this seeming error is not far to seek. These words, as, for instance, condicioneel, it will be remembered, had some freedom of accent during the Middle English period, so that the accent not infrequently fell on the ultimate of these Romance words. By virtue of this fact, therefore, the right of such words to be placed among the above examples is established. Cf. Behrens, Französ. Studien V., 2, 84.

Some of these words in Modern English have been re-formed, as, for example, move, prove, for which Chaucer has meve, remeve, preve. Compare reprieve which shows natural development from the M.E. repreve.

We have now finished the detailed investigation of the several M.E. dialects and may sum up the results.

The A.S. diphthongs ēa and ēo were simplified in M.E. in all the dialects except Kent., giving ę́ and ē, respectively. This is true rather of late M.E., for in early M.E. both the diphthongs and simplified forms exist side by side. It is a peculiarity of the Kentish dialect that it retained the old diphthongs ēa and īo, the latter symbol being the old Kentish representative of A.S. ēo.

A.S. ē was retained in M.E. in all the dialects.

A.S. ǣ was retained in M.E., especially in the Southern and Midland dialects, beside ē from non-W.S. ē, in many words. A.S. ǣ in late M.E. must have been raised to the mid-front-wide ę́. In the Northern dialect and in the Kentish as well, there were comparatively few ę́'s, and this is what we should naturally expect in the dialects representing the old North. and Kent. in which the open ē-sound was of rare occurrence. In the Midland dialects, particularly East Midland, ę́ is a more common sound than the old

Mercian would lead us to infer, in which dialect the Germ. ǣ was represented by the close ē. This may be due to W.S. influence which would reënforce the native ę́ from ǣ (i-umlaut of ā) which already existed in Mercian. In the dialect which gave rise to Standard English, Mercian influence is clearly seen in those words having ē (= Germ. ǣ) where we should rather expect ę́.

Many A.S. e's and ea's by the processes of lengthening yield ē and ę́ in M.E. Most of the long e's arising from lengthening before consonant combinations are close (ē), while most of those arising from lengthening in open syllables are open (ę́).

So then roughly speaking, we may say that most A.S. ǣ's, ēa's, ē's, ēo's, and many A.S. e's and ea's yield in M.E. ę́ or ē. To this native stock there was added a large number of both ę́'s and ē's from the Old Norse and Romance sources all of which were taken up and assimilated in the dialect which gave rise to Standard English.

To sum up briefly the graphic representation of ę́ and ē in the several M.E. dialects. ę́ was represented in the Kentish by ea and e, in the Southern by ea and e, in the East-Midland by æ, e, rarely ea, in the West-Midland by æ, ea and e, in the Northern by e. ē, on the contrary, was represented in the Kent. by e, ie, ye, in the Southern by e, eo, in the East and West-Midlands by e, eo, in the Northern by e. In late M.E., especially in Chaucer, ę́ is represented by e, ee, rarely ea, and ē, by e, ee, rarely ie.

It seems advisable here to bring within small compass all the sources of the M.E. ē-sound, even though some of these have already been given. Hence the following résumé:

Sources of M.E. ē:

1. A.S. ē of whatever origin.
2. A.S. e before consonant combinations, as ld, etc.
3. A.S. eo of whatever origin.
4. Non-W.S. ē (= Germ. ǣ and i-umlaut of ā).
5. A.S. ēa (non-W.S. ē) before Palatals, occasionally.
6. O.N. ē, œ̄ (i-umlaut of ō), iū, iō, ǣ (i-umlaut).
7. O.Fr. e = Lat. a (except before l).
8. O.Fr. e = Lat. ē, Gr. *η*, rarely Lat. æ, Gr. *αι* in open syllables.
9. O.Fr. ie which in Anglo-Norman was simplified to e.

10. O.Fr. ue = Lat. ŏ which in Anglo-Norman was simplified.
11. M.E. ę́ when it occurs in final position.

Sources of ę́:

1. A.S. ǣ of whatever origin. See above under ē, 4.
2. A.S. ēa of whatever origin.
3. A.S. e, ea in open syllables.
4. O.N. ę́, i- and R-umlaut of ā.
5. O.Fr. e = Lat. e, i, æ in tonic syllables.
6. Simplification of O.Fr. ęi (= older ei and ai).
7. Contraction of pretonic O.Fr. ei or e with tonic ę́ or a.
8. O.Fr. e = Lat. a before l. See above under ē, 7.

MODERN ENGLISH PERIOD.

IV.

The ee-Vowel in the Middle Transition and First Modern Period (1500–1600).

The line of demarcation between Middle English and Modern English is difficult to draw with any degree of accuracy and definiteness. The usual criterion is the loss of the final e, which, beginning in Chaucer, was completely carried out by the middle of the 15th century. We may say then with Sweet, roughly speaking, that Modern English begins about 1500, or with the introduction of printing into England which served to facilitate the establishment of a common literary language. This standard English, which, as we saw in the last section, was made up from the East Midland and Southern dialects, spread over the country generally, and so became established as the literary dialect. It is because of the establishment of the supremacy of this one dialect that the present problem henceforth assumes a different aspect. We no longer have to deal with several dialects of almost equal importance as heretofore. We are now concerned with one only. The varia-

tions from this standard language are not of sufficient importance, in the problem before us, to deserve any special comment.

Modern English, beginning with 1500 and extending to the present day, may, for our purpose, be divided into centuries, and this, though a somewhat arbitrary division, we shall follow for the sake of convenience.

Modern English orthography which is a continuation of M.E. orthography is more unphonetic in its basis than the latter. We cannot, therefore, rely solely on the spelling of the Modern period. It is, too, inadequate. We should then be in deplorable ignorance of the history of the early Modern English sounds if we did not possess certain phonetic treatises written by contemporary grammarians and orthographists. A list of the phonetic authorities is given by Ellis in his Early English Pronunciation, to which the reader is referred once for all. Cf. Vol. I, Chap. II, p. 31. With the aid of these phoneticians we may hope to arrive at something like a precise and accurate knowledge of the sound and representation of the long e-vowel in the early modern English period. But before proceeding to this period, let us glance at the period of transition from Middle to Modern English. This period embraces almost the whole of the 15th century.

There was, as we saw, no distinction in writing, during the late Middle English period, between the open and the close long e-sound, both being written e and ee. The graphic symbol ea was, however, used occasionally to denote the open sound, and the scribes sometimes substituted ie (for the close sound), especially in Fr. words. These same symbols are used also during the transition period. ea occurs, though not often, in all the texts of the transition period. Witness Peres the Ploughman's Crede, and the works of Lydgate, Sir Thomas Malory, Caxton, Stephen Hawes, etc., etc. It is to be borne in mind, however, that ea, though it occurs, was not a very common way of writing ę̄ during this period. Toward the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th, ea becomes more frequent. Tyndale employs it extensively, but with no regularity, using it for the close ē, as in deades for deeds, etc., as well as for the open sound. As to the origin of this symbol, it may be said that it is, in all probability, a survival of the early Southern spelling. It is of very frequent occurrence in the Ancren Riwle.

In the Southern dialect it represents the retention of the A.S. diphthong ēa. But it was also extended to words in which historically it had no right. The a seems to have been added to indicate an open sound, the example being set by such words as death, dream, etc., which are historically entitled to ea. Compare the spelling oa where a is added to denote the open sound of ō. So much for the transition period of the 15th century.

We now take up the history of the long e-sound in the first Modern period (16th century). The first orthographist who has left on record any information bearing on this subject is Palsgrave, who was a contemporary of Surrey and Tindale. He says: "*E* in the frenche tong hath thre dyverse sowndes, for sometyme they sownde hym lyke as we do in our tonge in these words, *a beere, a beest, a peer, a beeme,* and such lyke. . . . The sowndyng of *e* whiche is most generally kepte with them, is such as we gyve to *e* in our tong in these words above rehersed, that is to say, lyke as the Italianes sounde *e,* or they with us that pronounce the Latin tonge aright: so that *e* in frenche hath never suche a sownde as we use to gyve hym in these words, *a bee,* suche as maketh honny, *a beere,* to lay a deed corps on, *a peere,* a make or felowe, and as we sownde dyvers of our pronounes endynge in *e,* as *we, me, the, he, she,* and suche lyke, for suche a kynde of sowndynge both in frenche and latine is allmoste the ryght pronounciation of *i* as shall here after appere." In the same line, speaking of i, he says further: "*I* in the frenche tong hath .ii. dyvers maners of sowndynges, the soundyng of *i* whiche is most generally used in the frenche tong, is like as the Italians sounde *i,* and such with us as sounde the latine tong aright, which is almost as we sounde *e* in these words, *a bee,* a flie, *a beere,* for a deed corps, *a peere,* a felowe, *a fee,* a rewarde, a little more soundynge towards *i,* as we sound *i* with us."

Palsgrave fails to state whether the words he cites, bee, etc., had the sound of the close Italian and French e (mid-front-narrow), or that of the open e. He presumably meant the open sound. So then it seems safe to infer, in the absence of any direct evidence to the contrary, that the M.E. ē still retained its open quality. By the i-like sound of e in such words as fee, me, etc., which Palsgrave speaks of, is meant a very close sound of e, lying between the mid-front-narrow and the high-front-narrow position. It appears then

that M.E. ē (mid-front-narrow) has been slightly raised toward the high-front position.[1] Hence the continuity of the distinction between open and close long e is still unbroken.

Additional evidence is furnished by Salesbury (1547), who says: "E without any exception hath one permanent pronunciation in Welsh and that is the self pronunciation of Epsilon in Greke or e in Latine, being sounded aryght, or e in Englyshe, as it is sounded in these words a were, wreke, breke, wreste.

"And the learner must take good hede that he never do reade the said *e* as it is red in these wordes, we, beleve. For than by so doing shall he eyther alter the signification of the word wherein the same *e* is so corruptly reade, either els cause it to betoken nothing at all in that speche. Example: *pe* signifieth in English and if, now, ye rede it *pi*, than wil it betoken this letter *p*, or the byrd that ye call in Englyshe a Pye. And so *gwe* is a webbe: but if ye sound *e* as *i*, reading it *gwi*, then hath it no signification in the Welshe.

"And least peradventure the foresayd example of the Welch or straunge tong be somewhat obscure, then take this in your own mother tong for an explanation of that other: whereby ye shall perceive that the diversitie of pronunciation of *e* in these English wordes subscribed hereafter, wyll also make them to have divers significations, and they be these words, *bere*, *pere*, *hele*, *mele*."

Salesbury transcribes chese, quene, trees, frende by the Welsh tsis, kivin, triys, frinds. It is worthy of note that frend at this period had the long sound of e which is retained in the time of Wallis (1653), and which is attested even by Jones as late as 1701.

There is hardly any need of further evidence to establish the fact that at this period M.E. ē had its same open value, and that M.E. ē had its M.E. value, and, in addition, in some words, the value of i (high-front-narrow), for Palsgrave and Salesbury seem to prove this conclusively. Yet for the sake of completeness we may add the evidence furnished by the remaining orthographists of this period.

[1] This is only true of such words as me, bee, etc. Elsewhere ē retained its M.E. value.

Hart, in 1569, speaking of e, says: "The seconde with somewhat more closing of the mouth," than for a, "thrusting softlye the inner part of the tongue to the inner and upper great teeth (or gummes for want of teeth) and is marked *e*."

Bullokar, in 1580, states that "*e* hath two soundes, and vowels both, the one flat, agreeing to his old and continued name: and the other sounde more sharpe and betwene the old sounde of the old name of: *e*: and the name of: *i*: for such difference the best writers did use: *ea*: flat and long: and *ee*, *ie*, *eo* for: *e*: sharpe."

Here "sharpe" doubtless means close, and "flat" open or broad.

As to the graphic representation, during this period, of the two sounds of long e great confusion prevailed, especially during the first three quarters of the 16th century. The open sound was represented by the symbols e, ee, and ea; the close sound by e, ee. Ellis observes that Palsgrave employs the symbol ea sparingly in his text, but in his vocabularies he certainly makes frequent use of it. This symbol ea, however, was not used with any regularity during the early half of the 16th century; in the latter half we find more regularity in its use. It came then to be used for the open sound of long e; and ee, on the contrary, came to be restricted to the close sound. But this rule was not strictly observed, as the following partial list of Palsgrave's[1] (1530) and Levins's (1570) spelling will show: beche tree—beche, befe meat—beefe, beere (for deed men)—beare, beest—beast, dede acte—deede, deed body—dead, demyng judgying—deeme, derenesse chierté—deare, eare—eare, ease—ease, fedyng—feede, felyng—feele, feest—feast, fether plume—fether, gere—geare, hepe—heape, nede—need, leed (metal)—leade, hevyn—heaven, yere—year, sede—seede, see—sea, teching—teach, sekyng—seeke, quene—quene, pese—pease, see water—sea, sertche enquire—searche, seate a place—seate, teching lerning—teache, teame of a plough or oxen—teame, tethe dens—teethe, veele flesh—veale, weke for candels—weak, whete corn—wheate, teare of wepyng—teare, etc.

[1] Of course Palsgrave's spelling is not given to prove that this rule was not strictly observed, since there was no such rule at his time (1530), but by way of comparison to show the method of spelling in his day. Palsgrave's word is cited first and Levins's follows. For the complete list see Ellis, E.E. Pron., I, p. 77.

There are a few exceptions,[1] however, to the rule as given above. But, in general, we may say that the graphic representation of the open and close long e's, as of most sounds, was stereotyped once for all in the latter part of the 16th century, and that these symbols persist till the present. The symbols, of course, show an attempt at a phonetic representation of the two distinct sounds of the long e-vowel.

In a few words, as hear, dear, weary, etc., ea appears to have crept in where it had no right. That the ea before r in these words indicated a real broadening seems somewhat doubtful. Bullokar in 1580 sounds hear hiir, and year and appear he sounds yiir, appiir. Butler in 1633 insists that hear, dear, weary should be pronounced with (ee)[2] and not with (ii),[3] which shows quite conclusively that at least one pronunciation of these words was (ii). It seems very plain then that ea did not indicate the open sound in these words. It is not improbable, as Sweet suggests, that the spelling ea in these words was retained, contrary to the rule, in order to serve as a help to distinguish them from deer[4] (= M.E. dēr), heer here[4] (= M.E. hēr), etc.

To sum up briefly the changes of the 16th century. 1. M.E. ē̓ retained its open quality, there being no evidence to the contrary. 2 M.E. ē, in such words as bee, beere, peere, fee, he, she, etc., had a very close i-like sound lying between the mid-front-narrow and the high-front-narrow position. 3. M.E. ē in other words retained its M.E. value (mid-front-narrow). The close ē must have begun to be raised to the high-front position in the latter part of the 15th century or in the very beginning of the 16th, after M.E. ē (high-front-narrow) became a diphthong. It is possible, in view of the changes that took place in the 17th century, that towards the latter part of the 16th, open (ee) had begun to be narrowed, at least in a few words.

[1] ea was not written in all words where it should have been. Witness there, where, ere < W.S. ðǣr, hwǣr, ǣr, which have preserved their open sound to Living English. Nor, on the contrary, was ee written in all cases where it should have been. Witness here < A.S. hēr which has preserved its close sound to Living English.

[2] (ee) indicates the long close e (mid-front-narrow).

[3] (ii) indicates the long i-like sound of e (high-front-narrow).

[4] Of course, these all go back to A.S. close ē or ēo, as dēr to A.S. dēor dēore; here to A.S. hēr (adv), and Merc. hēran (verb), werig to Merc. wērig, etc.

V.

Second Modern Period, (1600–1700).

This is a period of remarkable changes in the language. During the latter half of this century, says Sweet, the whole phonetic structure of the language may be said to have been revolutionized. Some of the more important of these changes are the diphthongization of ū, the simplification of the diphthongs ai and au, the fronting of a and aa into æ and ææ, and the development of the peculiar English ə from u. Not the least among the changes of this period are those which long e undergoes.

1. *History of ee in the Second Modern Period.*

The first authority of this period who makes any mention of the e-vowel is Wallis (1653). He says: "*e* propertur sono acuto claroque ut Gallorum é masculinum" except before r, "*ea* effertur nunc dierum ut é longum: sono ipsius *a* penitus suppresso, et sono literae *e* producto. Nempe illud solum praestat *a* ut syllaba reputetur longa. Ita *met* obviam factus, *meat* victus, *set* sisto, sedere facio, *seat* sella, etc., non sono differunt nisi quod vocalis illic correpta, hic producta intelligatur." We must not take Wallis too literally when he says met, meat, set, seat, etc., differ only in length. What he intends to say, if I misapprehend not his meaning, is, that the a in meat, seat, etc., is merely a mark of length. We interpret him by Cooper whose list of exact pairs, will: weal, ken: cane, is presumptive evidence that this is Wallis's meaning.

Price in 1688 writes as follows: "*E* soundes like *ee* in *be, even, evening, England, English, he, here, me, she, we, ye, ... ea* soundes e d-r-a-w-n out long as lead, week." He adds the following list of words as having "e drawn out:" "Appeal, appease, bean, bear, beast, beat, beneath, breach, break, to break, cease, cheat, clean, cleave, compleat, conceal, congeal, deal, decrease, defeat, displease, dream, eager, ean, ear, earn, easie, Easter, endeavour, entreat, eat, eaves, feature, forswear, glean, heal, heap, gealousie, meal, mean, reach, reveal, to sheath, speak, spear, spread, squeak, seam, seamstress, streak, surcease, swear, teach, teazils, treatise,

weave, weaver, zeal." By "e drawn out" Price doubtless means the open ee, and by ee, the close ee. He says further: "Ea sounds short (e) in head, dead, ready, bedstead, beard, earl, feather, heaven, measure, pearl, pleasure, search, stead, sweat, thread, threaten, treasurie, treasure, wealth, weary, weather." Of this list it may be remarked that only beard and weary have changed.

We see therefore that in Price's time ee had its regular close sound and ea its regular open sound. The only words in which Price admits ea to be pronounced with the close sound (ii) are: dear, appear, bleareyed, chear (now spelled cheer), clear, hear, near, read, year. It is possible that dear, hear, etc., of which we have already spoken, exerted an influence on similar words to themselves and so drew them over to their category. We note in Price also a list of ea's which are shortened. This same process, though it was not specifically mentioned, was operative in the preceding century, and we saw that it operated quite extensively in Middle English. It is worthy of note that we find this process of shortening especially before the stop *d*, and before *th*, *t*, and *f*. Of course ee was subject to the same process. Hence result, let, wet, etc., from M.E. ē. See, in this connection, Fick's article in Englische Studien, VIII, 502.

In a few words, as heard, heart, hearken, searge, the ea, according to Price, has the sound of a, by which is probably meant æ, as Ellis suggests, since such was the phonetic value of a at that time. Such words as heart, hearken, etc., had the value of short e in Middle English, and it is well established that M.E. ĕ before r became ă in Modern English, as in far, war, star, etc. Hence the a- or rather æ-sound of ea, at this period, in the above words. It is to be noted that somehow, possibly by analogy to other words in -ear, the spelling ea has established itself in heart, hearken, hearth, etc. Price's heard is now written hard in conformity with the rule.

Cooper in 1685 offers very important testimony. He has quite a peculiar vocalic system in which the list of exact pairs of long and short vowels is as follows:

can	ken	will	folly	full	up	meat	foot
cast	cane	weal	fall	foale	—	need	fool.

He offers no examples of ee = (ii), but gives several classes of examples of the ea-sound, which he discusses quite at length. Of

examples of the ea shortened into e he offers quite a considerable number; as, already, bread, behead, breath, breadth, dearth, death, dread, earth, endeavour, health, realm, leather, stealth, tread, threaten, leaven, etc.

He gives a long list of words in which ea has the close (ee) sound, as appeal, appease, beacon, break, great, sweat, wear, forswear, etc., etc. In the following words, on the contrary, Cooper says that ea retains its open quality: bear, beard, earl, early, earn, earnest, learn, rehearse, searce, search, shear, scream, potsheard, swear, tear, wear—in all of which, except scream, it is to be observed that the ea is followed by r. Of the class of words in which ea has the sound of (ii) Cooper adds but a few, as, arrear, fear, year, tear, to the list given by Price.

It seems evident then that by Cooper's time long e had undergone very important changes. The open (ee)-sound had changed to the close (ee), except before r where, under the conserving influence of the following r, ee retained its open quality. Even some of the ea's followed by r were narrowed, and a few, after undergoing narrowing, were raised from the mid-front (ee) to the high-front (ii). Of course the old close (ee) was, meanwhile, raised to the high-front (ii), not only in such words as bee, he, me, etc., but in all the rest of the words containing close (ee). The number of words which underwent the process of shortening was largely increased.

Cooper seems to have been in advance of his contemporaries and to have anticipated somewhat changes which do not appear to have become general, and fully established till later, for Miege and Jones do not support him in the statement that the open (ee) was narrowed, and the close (ee) raised to (ii) (high-front-narrow). Miege and Jones were conservative. There seems no escape from the conclusion that Cooper's peculiar vocalic system is but an expression of the existing tendency which was fast manifesting itself.

Miege (1688) states that long e is the French é, but makes the following exceptions, which he says have the sound of (ii): be, he, she, me, we, "qui s'écrivaient autrefois avec deux e," yes, besom, evil, eve, evening, even, here. For the general pronunciation of ea he gives long é masculin, (ee). But ea, he says, has the sound of e, that is, has been shortened, in quite a long list of words,

agreeing, in the main, with that given by Cooper. Miege's pronunciation is practically, then, that of the 16th century.

The statements of Jones (1701) whose pronunciation represents the latter part of the 17th century are consonant with those of Miege. Jones says that the sound of long e is written ea "in all words or syllables, that are, or may be sounded long," except a certain number of words in which it is written e only. The following are the lists of words in which Jones gave ee its old close value (mid-front-narrow) and not the value of (ii), as we should expect:

"1. eke, e're, mere, rere, the, there, these, were, where, glebe, Medes, mete, mepe, scene, scheme, sphere, Swede, Thebe, Theme.

"2. adhere, antheme, austere, blaspheme, cherub, cohere, complete, concede, credit, discrete, felo, female, ferule, frequent, Hebrew, impede, negro, nephew, obscene, pedant, pedee, poeme, serous, sincere, supreme, systeme, tenet, terrene, treble, venew, —— crevice, crewel, menow, nether, plevin, whether.

"3. All Scripture names and proper names from other languages as Belus, Jehu, Jesus, etc.

"4. All that begin with the sound of ce, de, e, per, pre, re, se."

Jones gives ee the sound of (ii), however, in be, he, etc., and, further, in chesel, crete, England, English, here, mere, metre, Petre, Eve, Eveling, even, etc. His list of words in which ea is shortened to e deserves no special comment. Nor does his short list in which ea has the sound of (ii).

Jones' can hardly be the received pronunciation of his time. It seems best to consider his pronunciation and Cooper's both as permissible. The differences between the two may be explained on the reasonable supposition that Jones' was the old established pronunciation which was destined to become antiquated, while Cooper's represented the tendency which was then setting in, but which had not as yet developed into a general law.

It is interesting to note here in how many words at the close of the 17th century ea had the value of ii (high-front-narrow). A review of the preceding lists furnish only the following: appear, arrear, beadle, besmear, bleareyed, chear, clear, dear, ear, earwig, fear, gear, hear, instead, mear, near, read, sear, shears, spear, stead, steam, team, tear (n), weary, yea, year, yeast. In all other words ea had either the open sound or the close ee (mid-front-narrow).

Early in the following century in nearly all words ea came to have the sound of (ii), as in the above list.

To summarize the changes which the long e-vowel underwent during the 17th century. 1. The close (ee) from M.E. ē which, during the preceding century occupied, except in such words as bee, he, me, etc., the mid-front-narrow position, was raised, about the middle of the century, to the high-front-narrow (ii), the long i which formerly occupied this position being diphthonged. But some few of the close (ee's), according to Jones, still retained their old value (mid-front-narrow).

2. The open (ee) from M.E. ę̄ was, about the middle of the century, narrowed to the mid-front-narrow (ee), except before r where, in most cases, it remained.[1] This was a natural change after the close (ee) was raised to the high-front position (ii). Even some few of the open (ee's) were not only narrowed, but also raised, possibly under the influence of such words as hear, dear, etc., to the high-front-narrow (ii).

3. The sound of ea in a few words such as heart, hearken, etc., was *a*, which at this time was probably a low-front-wide sound (æ).

4. The process of shortening before d, th, etc., continued operative, so that in many words as stead, tread, etc., both open and close ee became short.

2. *Medial ie as a Graphic Representative of the close ee-sound.*

It will be remembered that attention was drawn to the fact that Chaucer occasionally used *ie* for A.S. ēo, īo, as equivalent to M.E. ē. This same usage is found in other writers of the 14th century. But in the two succeeding centuries the symbol *ie* appears to have fallen out of use. In the 17th century it came into use again and was established with the sound of (ii) which was then the value of close (ee). The table which follows, taken from Ellis, E.E.P., I, p. 104, shows very plainly the rise of the graphic symbol ie.

Price, 1668.	Minshew, 1617.	Levins, 1570.	Palsgrave, 1530.	Promptorium, 1440.
believe	beleeve	beleeve	beleve	beleveness
besiege	besiege	cf. sege	cf. sege	cf. sege
bier	beere (biere)	beare	beere	beere

[1] Also after r in some few cases at least, as in Cooper's scream.

Price, 1668.	Minshew, 1617.	Levins, 1570.	Palsgrave, 1530.	Promptorium, 1440.
brief	briefe (breefe)	breefe	brefe	
cavalier				
cashier	casheere			
chief	chiefe cheife	cheefe chief	chefe chief	chevetum
[field]	field (feeld)	feeld (field)	felde	feelde
[fiend]	feend		fende	
[fierce]	fierce	fierce	fyers	fersse
friend	frend (friend)	frende	frende	freende
frontier	frontier			
[grieve]	greeve (grieve)	greeve	greve	grevyn
kerchief	kerchiefe	kercher	kerchefe	kyrchefe
[lief]		liefer	lefe	lefe
liege	liege		lege	lyche
niece	neece	neece	neyce	
piece	peece (piece)	peece	pece	pece
pierce	pearce (pierce)	perse	perce	percyn
[priest]	prieste	prestly	preest	preest
[shield]	sheeld			scheeld
sieve	sive (sieve)	seefe		cyve
thief	theef	theefe	thefe	theef
yield	yeeld	yeeld	yelde	yeldon

Minshew (1617) represents the transitional period when both forms existed side by side. Price's spelling with ie agrees with the present. In fact this symbol has continued from the 17th century on, without break, as a graphic representative of the close ee. This spelling with ie was doubtless helped on by the French influence, as we saw it was in Chaucer. Being merely a graphic representation of the close (ee), ie has shared the fate of this sound in later Modern English.

3. *The Development of the (ee)-sound from aa in Modern English.*

There comes within the scope of this paper another problem connected with the history of the long e-vowel, viz: to trace the rise and development of the long e-sound from long a. This problem is confined entirely to Modern English. We may say at the outset that we are not here concerned with the M.E. sources of this long a which are M.E. ā and ai.

The regular early Modern English value of long a was the long mid-back-wide vowel. In the 16th century, however, we find indications of another sound of long a, which about the latter part

of the 17th century, was fast establishing itself. The first orthographist to give any intimation of the sound of long a is Palsgrave in 1530. He says: "The soundyng of a, whiche is most generally used throughout the frenche tong, in suche as we use with us, where the best englysshe is spoken, whiche is lyke as the Italians sounde a, or they with us, that pronounce the latine tong aryght." But even earlier than Palsgrave in an unknown treatise on French pronunciation[1] dated 1528 we find a significant statement bearing on the question under consideration. "A ought to be pronounced from the bottom of the stomak and all openly, E, a lytell hyer in the throte there properly where the englysshe man sounds his a." Du Guez in 1532, speaking on the same subject, says: "Ye shal pronounce your [French] a as wyde open mouthed as ye can: your e as ye do in latin. almoste as brode as ye pronounce your a in englysshe."

Here then is implied in Palsgrave's "most generally" the admission of another than the received pronunciation of aa. This sound of aa is that indicated above by Du Guez. The words of Erondell (1605) are especially important at this point. He says: "Our A is not sounded altogether as this English word awe as some have written, but as the first voice of this word Augustine or After, opening somewhat the mouth as for example Baptiste, tacitement, sçauvoir; and not after the rate of the English word ale, for if a Frenchman should write it according to the English sound, hee would write it in this wise esl, and sound it as if there were no s."

It seems evident, then, from these statements that there were two well recognized sounds of aa at this time. The first of these is, of course, the well known Italian sound of aa (mid-back-wide); the second sound is probably that of a in man as pronounced at present; i. e., low-front-wide (æ), or at all events, an approximation to this, which might well be produced by a slight fronting of the mid-back-wide a as in father. A Frenchman might readily mistake this æ (low-front-wide) for e̞ (mid-front-wide), as actually happens frequently.

Butler in 1633 says: "A is in English, as in all other languages, the first vowel, and the first letter of the alphabet; the which, like

[1] See Ellis, E.E.P., I, p. 226—foot-note.

i and u, hath two soundes, one when it is short, an other when long as in man and name, hat and tale." Just what sound Butler means by a in name, hate, we cannot definitely determine, but he probably means the low-front-wide (æ), for a in his time had this value.

Wallis's words in 1653 in his description of an open vowel formed by the middle of the tongue and palate, seem to point to æ as the sound of a; and he expressly says that the English a is thinner in sound than the foreign a.

Cooper (1685) furnishes very important evidence. His list of exact pairs of long and short vowels is very significant as showing the long of e to be the a in cane, and the long of the a in can to be the a in cast; and he expressly states that the vowel in such words as wane was not the long of the a in cast, but of the e in ken. He says: "A formatur a medio linguae ad concavem palati paululum elevato. In his *can* possum, *pass* by praetereo, *a* corripitur; in *cast* jacio, *past* pro *passed* praeteritus, producitur. Frequentissimus auditur hic sonus apud Anglos, qui semper hoc modo pronunciant *a* latinum; ut in *amabam*. Sic etiam apud Cambro-britannos; quandoque apud Gallos; ut in *animal, demande*, raro autem aut numquam apud Germanos. Hunc sonum correptum & productum semper scribimus per *a*; at huic characteri praeterea adhibentur, sonus unus et alter: prior qui pro vocali ejus longa habetur, ut in *cane* definitur sect. sequenti; posterior ut in *was* sect. septima sub *o* gutturalem.

"E formatur a lingua magis elevata et expansa quam in *a* prius ad extremitatem, unde concavum palati minus redditur & sonus magis acutus; ut in *ken* video. Sic apud *Germanos menschen* homines. Apud *Gallos* raro ut in *excês, proteste, session*, & *Benjamin* absoleto. Hunc sonum correptum Angli semper exprimunt per *e* brevem; & *e* brevem nunquam aliter pronunciant nisi ante *r*, ubi propter tremulam ipsius motionem, & vocalis subtilitatem subita correptione comitatam, vix aliter efferri potest quam *ur;* ideo *per* in *pertain* pertineo, & *pur* in *purpose* propositum ejusdem sunt valoris. Vera hujusce soni productio scribitur per *a*, atque *a* longum falso denominatur; ut in *cane* canna, *wane* deflecto; & ante *ge* ut *age* aetas; in caeteris autem vocalibus (*ni fallor*) omnibus ubi *e* quiescens ad finem syllabae post *a*, adjicitur; *n* gutturalis . . . inseritur post *a;* ut in *name* nomen, quasi scriberetur *na-um* dissyllabum.

"Post *a* in omnibus, nisi in *cane* canna, *wane* deflecto, *stranger*, advena, *strange* alienus, *manger* praesepe, *mangy* scabiosus, & ante *ge;* ut *age* aetas; inseritur *n* gutturalis quae nihil aliud est quam continuatio nudi murmuris postquam *a* formatur nam propter exilitatem, ni accuratius attenditur; ad proximam consonantem, sine interveniente *u* non facile transibit lingua. Differentia auribus, quae sonos distinguere possunt, manifesto apparebit in exemplis sequenti ordine dispositis.

a brevis	a longa	a exilis
Bar vectis	Barge navicula	Bare nudus
blab effutio	blast flatus	blazon divulgo
cap pileum	carking anxietas	cape capa.
car carrus	carp carpo	care cura
cat catus	cast jactus	case theca
dash allido	dart jaculum	date dactylus
flash fulguro	flasket corbis genus	flake flocculus
gash cæsura	gasp oscito	gate janua
grand grandis	grant concedo	grange villa
land terra	lanch solvo	lane viculus
mash farrago	mask larva	mason lapidarius
pat aptus	path semita	pate caput
tar pix fluida	tart scriblita	tares lolia.

"Si quid amplius ad hanc veritatem confirmandam velles, accipe exempla sequentia; in quibus *ai* leniter pronunciata sonum habet *a* purae; ut in *cane*, *a* vero post se admittit *u* gutturalem ut,

Bain balneum	Hail grando	Maid virgo
bane venenum	hale traho	made factus
main magnus	lay'n jacui	pain dolor
mane juba	lane viculus	pane quadra
plain manifestus	spaid castratus	tail cauda
plane lævigo	spade ligo	tale fabula"

From this quite lengthy but important quotation from Cooper it is evident that in the 17th century long a had the sound of long æ (low-front-wide), and that toward the close of the century this long æ-sound of long a came to have the sound of the pure open ee (mid-front-wide) in such words as cane, wane, etc., stranger, manger, etc., age, etc. This identical sound appears at the same time in *ai* in such words as tail, hail, etc., of which we shall speak presently.

The Expert Orthographist (1704) identifies long a with the vowel in there, were, where, which, of course, agrees with Cooper's statements, for the e of these words had the pure open quality, at this period, and there and where preserve this sound to Living English. In the present pronunciation of these words a diphthong is of course heard.

In the 18th century, to anticipate, this same open (ee)-sound of long a continues, but towards the close of the century, under the general tendency of long vowels to become narrow, this open (ee)[1] was, in all probability, narrowed to the low-front-narrow ææ, which was naturally the next step. In Living English, under the general tendency toward diphthonging this low-front-narrow sound of aa became diphthonged. This diphthonging must have begun with a widening of the first half of the vowel which, by further widening, would, with a slight raising, develop into the open e (mid-front-wide), the second element being raised to the high-front i. The resulting diphthong is ei. The open (ee) before r diphthonged into (eə); as in share, care, etc.

In giving the history of the ē-sound of aa to the present day we have transcended the limits of the 17th century. We now return and take up the diphthongs ai and ei which also gave rise to a long e-sound.

4. *Development of ee from the Diphthongs ai, ei, in Modern English.*

This is another problem with which we have to deal, and, like the one we have just considered, it is confined to the Modern period. In the early Modern period there existed some confusion between ei and ai, but our first grammarian Palsgrave (1530) distinguishes clearly between the two diphthongs. He says that ai and ei consist respectively of a + i and e + i, the a and e having their distinct sounds and the i a slight vanishing sound.

Smith, in 1568, says that the difference between these diphthongs, ai and ei, is insignificant and that effeminate speakers substitute ei for ai: "Inter Ai & Ei diphthongos minima differentia est, praesertim apud nostrates, apud nos tamen audiuntur hi soni. (Fein)

[1] Except before *r* where the open (ee) remained.

fingere, (deinti) delicatus, (peint) pingere, (feint) languidus. Sed non hæc tantum verba per ei pronuntiantur, sed cætera omnia per ai scripta mulierculæ quædam delicatores, et nonnulli qui volunt isto modo videri loqui urbanius per (ei) sonant, ut hæc ipa quæ nos per ei scribimus, alii sonant et pronuntiant per ai, tam *ἀδιάφοροι* sumus in his dumtaxat diphthongis Angli."

Hart in 1569 omits ai from his list of diphthongs and transcribes it by (ee), for which he is severely censured by Gill (1621) who contrasts Hart's pre, we, se, the, me, with his own prai, wai, sai, thei, mai.

From all this cumulative evidence we are surely warranted in the inference that in the 16th century there existed a tendency to pronounce ai almost as ei with a very slight sound of i, or none at all. The conservatives like Gill and Smith were not willing to recognize this tendency which was gradually manifesting itself.

Butler in 1623 recognizes this sound of ai when he says: "The right sound of *ai, au, ei, eu, oi, ou,* is the mixed sound of the two vowels, whereof they are made: as (bait, vaut, hei, heu, koi, kou): no otherwise than it is in the Greek." "But," he continues, "ai, in imitation of the French, is sometimes corruptly sounded like e: as in may, nay, play, say, stay, fray, slay; specially in words originally French, as in hay, baili, travail; though plaid have lost his natural orthography, and we write as we speak plead."

Wallis in 1653 says that ei, ey, were (ei), or even simply (ee) without the (i), but adds, "Nonnulli tamen plenius efferunt, acsi per ai scripta essent." The diphthong ai he still holds to be a pure diphthong: "Ai vel ay sonum exprimunt compositum ex a Anglico (hoc est, exili) correpto, et y. Ut in voce *day* dies, *praise* laus." This is probably dæi, præiz. It may be mentioned here that the sound of ai spoken of in the preceding paragraphs is probably æi, since a at that time had the value of æ (low-front-wide), which sound is very near the open e (mid-front-wide).

Price (1668) identifies ai and ei, at least in some words, which would show that æi had become ei. He says: "Ey sounds like ay, in they, obey, convey, conveyance, obeyance, pray, survey, surveyor, whey." . . . . "Ei soundes like ay in heir, feign, weight, neighbour, deign, eight, forein, inveigh, to neigh, streight, streiten, veins."

Cooper, as usual, offers very important evidence in support of the point to be established. He says: "Vera hujusce soni [vowel in ken] productio scribitur per a, atque a longum falso denominatur, ut in cane canna, ... hic sonus, quando pure sonatur," that is, when it is not diphthonged into (eeə), "scribitur per ai vel ay, ut pain dolor, day dies: quae hoc modo in omnibus fere dictionibus plerumque pronunciantur: per ey in convey deporto, obey obedio, purvey rebus necessariis provideo, survey lustro, they illi, trey trulla, whey serum lactis: quandoque raro autem per ea; ut pearl margarita.

Corripitur in	Producitur in
sell vendo	sail navigo
sent missus	saint sanctus
tell nuncio	tail cauda
tent tentorium	taint inficio

The conclusion gathered from these statements of Cooper, and those regarding ai quoted before (under aa), is that ai, except in a few words, had, in the latter part of the 17th century the sound of open (ee). The earlier æ-sound of ai was slightly raised to the mid-front-wide position, thus coinciding with ei which, with the exception of a small number of words, at this time had the same sound. It will be remembered that aa also at this time had the open (ee)-sound, so that both aa, ai, and ei all coincided. This fact finds further support in the rimes of this period. We find such rimes as the following: faire: bare, staide: made, laid: made, taile: bale, waite: deceite, obey: daie, claim: flame, etc., etc. For a collection of such rimes see Ellis, E.E.P., III, pp. 867, 872.

VI.

The ee-Vowel in the Third Modern Period (1700–1800) and in Living English (1800–).

The 18th century upon which we now enter may be briefly characterized as a period in which the long vowels undergo a process of lingual narrowing.

We now recur to the long e-vowel after a long digression on aa, and ai, ei, which we saw gave rise to a long e-sound in the 17th

century. We saw that at the close of that century open ee had been narrowed into (ee) (mid-front-narrow), except when followed by r in which case it retained its open sound, and that close (ee) had been raised to the high-front-narrow position (ii). In the 18th century the close (ee) which developed from the original open (ee) became (ii) not only in steal, heal, deal, sea, and such words, but also, according to some authorities (cf. the Expert Orthographist), in such words as break,[1] great, etc. The original close (ee) in such words as here, these, feel, heel, etc., remained (ii).

The first authority of this century is the Expert Orthographist (1704), who says: "Tho' ee be reckoned among the Diphthongs, yet what difference is there in the sound of meet to come together and mete to measure, in proceed and intercede?" Of there, were, where, he says, "though they have e at the end, yet it serveth only to lengthen the foregoing e into a long." He then proceeds to give a list of words in which e (= close ee) had the sound of (ii) as mete, here, these, scene, cohere, etc., etc., which demand no comment, since it is well-established that close (ee) had the sound of (ii) at this time.

The Expert Orthographist makes some remarkable observations regarding ea. He shows by his long list of 95 words in which ea had the sound of e that many words have undergone the process of shortening. The list of words at the close of the 17th century in which ea had the sound of (ii) numbered only 28 in all. All other ea's except those shortened, had the sound of close (ee) or open (ee). The Orthographist gives a list of no less than 255 words in which "ea is sounded ee or e long," by which, of course, as Ellis says, was meant phonetic (ii). This list includes such words as break, deaf, great, pear, yea, yearn, etc. The Orthographist admits only four words, viz: wear, bear (s. and v.), swear, tear (v.), in which ea had the sound of "a long" by which he means open (ee).

We can hardly credit fully the statement of the Orthographist in regard to the extensive (ii)-pronunciation of ea. This, surely, was not the generally received pronunciation of such words as

[1] But in these words the vowel retained its old sound under the conserving influence of r.

break, great, pear, etc., which appear in his long list of words in which ea had the phonetic value of (ii). The fact that the Orthographist's contemporary, Dyche, in 1710, makes no mention of any such change as this is presumptive evidence that this pronunciation did not gain general currency. The appearance of break, great, etc., in the Orthographist's list of words in which ea had the phonetic value of (ii) may be explained on the hypothesis that these words advanced, with the large class containing ea, to the high-front-narrow position, but did not become established with this pronunciation, probably because of the conserving influence of the r.

T. Lediard,[1] in his account of English pronunciation, written in 1725, testifies to the coincidence of the open and close ee. He says: "The commonest pronunciation of ea is that of German ih or ie when long and accented, als appeal, appease, bead, bequeath, cheap, conceal, dear, decease, eat, entreat, feast, leaf, sea, season, teach, weak, veal, etc., etc." He says further, in speaking of ee, that it is generally long like ih, ie, as in bleed, etc.

We may say then that the (ii)-sound of ea appeared in the first half of the 18th century, and was established in the second half. Buchanan and Franklin in 1766 give (ii) as the sound of ea, citing such examples as pleased, stream, clear, meaning, easiest, least, speaker, read, reader, etc. Sheridan likewise in 1780 gives (ii) as the sound of ea, adding that ea when sounded (ii) in England "almost universally" received the sound of close (ee) in Ireland, and that "gentlemen of Ireland, after sometime of residence in London, are apt to fall into the general rule, and pronounce these words great, a pear, a bear, to bear, forbear, swear, to tear, wear, as if spelled greet, beer, sweer, etc.," that is, with (ii). These authorities all give phonetic long i as the value of ea.

To sum up the changes which ea and ee underwent during this period.

1. Ea became (ii) in all words such as sea, heal, etc., except those in which the *r* exerted a conserving influence; as, bear, pear, swear, tear (v.), etc. These latter retained the old open (ee)-sound.

[1] See Ellis, E.E.P., IV, p. 1040 ff.

2. Ee which, during the 17th century, became established as (ii), retained this sound. So then in the 18th century both ea and ee coincided, having the common sound of (ii) (high-front-narrow), except in a few words such as, bear, swear, etc. In many words ea and ee also became short under the back-shortening influence of th, d, t, etc.

These sounds continued to exist till about the middle of the present century when, under the general tendency of Living English toward the diphthonging of long vowels, they became diphthongs. The diphthonging of the (ii)-sound of ee and ea began with a widening of the first half of the vowel, which, by still farther widening, would develop into i (high-front-wide) with the glide slightly raised. This diphthong is written ij. It is not generally heard in American English, but may be heard in such words as, he, me, etc. The open (ee)-sound of ea in such words as swear, etc., was diphthonged into (eə), the first symbol of which indicates a low-front-narrow sound, the second a mid-mixed-wide sound, as the e in *e*ye or bett*e*r. The close (ee)-sound of ea in break, great, which, being preserved by the preceding r, did not become (ii), was diphthonged into (ei) in Living English, thus coinciding with the diphthong (ei) which the open (ee)-sound of aa, as in, name, tame, etc., etc., became.

2. *The Diphthongs ai, ei.*

It was shown that the diphthongs ai and ei, at the close of the 17th century, had the sound of open (ee), the i having vanished. In the 18th century they have the same sound, but ei in some words became (ii). The expert Orthographist (1704) says that "ai, ei, ay, ey, are much the same sound in many words as pail, hay, eight, they." He next gives a list of ten words in which "the sound of e is lengthened by ei," by which he means (ii), as Ellis remarks. These words are as follows: conceit (s. and v.), conceive, deceit, deceive, either, inveigle, receipt, receive, weild (= wield). But he gives the open (ee)-sound to these: "con, de re, ceipt, or ceive, heir, leisure, neither, rein, reign, their, vein, height, inveigh, neighbour, weight."

It appears then that in the early part of the 18th century ei in some few words, especially of French origin, as conceive, deceive, etc., had been narrowed from its former open (ee)-sound and raised to (ii). Elsewhere ei and ai retained their open (ee)-sound. This (ii)-sound of ei, is also mentioned by Lediard (1725), who says that ei is sounded as German ih or ie, in conceit, conceive, deceit, deceive, inveigle, leisure, perceive, receive, seize, etc. Lediard also gives the open (ee)-sound to ei, and to ai as well, in deign, eight, feign, heir, reign, rein, air, complain, etc.

Buchanan in 1766 and Franklin in 1768 agree with Lediard and the Orthographist. So does Sheridan (1780), who notes that "the Irish in attempting to pronounce like the English" and to convert ei, ey, into (ii), often overstrained the rule and pronounced prey, convey, prii, convii. This shows clearly the tendency of ei to become (ii).

To sum up the changes which ai, ei, underwent in the 18th century, we may say that ai and ei retained their open (ee)-sound of the 17th century, but that ei in some words, especially of French origin, as seize, conceive, etc., was narrowed and raised to (ii). So then in the 18th century both ai and ei, except in a few words, coincided with aa, and were confused under the common open (ee)-sound. This open (ee)-sound may have been narrowed toward the close of the 18th century, but this is not certain. In Living English, about the middle of the present century, this open (ee) was diphthonged, under the tendency of Living English toward diphthonging,[1] so that the old diphthongs ai, ei, which became a monothong in the 17th century have been again diphthonged. This diphthong is ei which is distinctly heard, as in day, they, hay, clay, rain, pail, fail, eight, freight, inveigh, etc. Before r the diphthong is (eə) as in hair, their, fair, air, pair, which is the same diphthong as that of aa before *r*; as, rare, fare, care, etc., and as that of ea before r, as swear, bear, wear, etc. These sounds then coincide in present Living English. The ei in such words as conceive, receipt, seize, etc., which had the (ii)-sound coincided with ee and ea and developed the same diphthong in Living English, (ij), as in seed, he, glee, seize, etc. But this diphthong is not fully developed in American English.

[1] This applies, of course, to long vowels only.

A tabular view is here subjoined which shows the development of the (ee)-sound in Modern English. In the latter part of the 17th century M.E. ę́ before r and M.E. ā as in name, etc., and M.E. ai, ei, coincided, all having the common open (ee)-sound which they all retained during the 18th century, with a possible narrowing toward the close of this period. In the 18th century ea (< M.E. ę́), ee (< M.E. ē) and ei in such words as receive, seize, etc., coincided, all having the (ii)-sound. In the 19th century these were all diphthonged into (ij). In present English ai, ei (except before r), and aa (except before r), and ea after r (as in great) coincide, all having been diphthonged into (ei); and these same vowels before *r* were diphthonged into (eə).

	16th Cent.	17th Cent.	18th Cent.
1. M.E. ę́	> *ee*[1] (spelt ea)	> ee (except before r)	> ee (except before r), ii.
2. M.E. ē	> ee,[2] ii (spelt ee)	> ii	> ii.
3. M.E. ā	> aa, ææ	> ææ, *ee*	> *ee* (possibly ee).
4. M.E. ai	> ai æi	> ææ, *ee*	> *ee* (possibly ee).
5. M.E. ei	> ei	> *ee*	> *ee* (possibly ee).

19th Cent.

1. > Diph. ij (steal, weal); *eə* (before r, wear, swear), iə (near, rear), *ei* (after r, great).
2. > Diph. ij (he, me, see, sweet, seed, deed, etc.).
3. > Diph. *ei* (name, lame, tale, dale, etc.); *eə* (before r, ware, care, hare, etc.).
4. > Diph. *ei* (fain, nail, main, tail, day, etc.); *eə* (before r, fair, hair, etc.).
5. > Diph. *ei* (rein, eight, freight, etc.); *eə* (before r, their, heir, etc.), ij (receive, seize, etc.).

3. *Development of Close (ee) from Latin Æ, Œ.*

There remains to be considered one more source of close (ee) which, though in chronological order not entitled to be placed here, may yet for the sake of convenience and completeness be treated at this point. It is æ and œ from the Latin which came into our language in the Modern period. During the Middle Ages Latin æ was considered an e-sound and was often transcribed e. Palsgrave is the first of our phonetic authorities to mention æ and œ. He says that æ and œ "be written in Latin and not sounded," by

[1] *ee* indicates the long open e. [2] ee indicates the long close e.

which he probably means not sounded as diphthongs, as Ellis observes. Bullokar, in 1580, uses æ as a sign for ee, the symbol of the close sound, which fact points clearly to the assumption that æ was considered equal to close (ee). Lediard, in 1725, confirms this hypothesis when he says æ is pronounced as German ih or ie in: æra, Cæsar, Cæres, perinæus, etc., for this was the sound of close ee at that time. The facts in the case seem then to warrant the inference that Latin æ and œ, whenever they were introduced into the language, were regarded equivalent to the close ee-sound with which they have up to the present been identical.

VII.

Results.

The following is a summary of what, in my judgment, are the results of the foregoing investigation:

1. The Germanic open ē-sound (low-front-wide) ǣ was retained in Anglo-Saxon, especially in West Saxon, in which dialect it had a wide range, but it was much restricted in the non-W.S. dialects, being here represented by the close ē (mid-front-narrow).

2. The Germanic close ē was a rare sound in Anglo-Saxon, but the secondary close ē which was developed on Anglo-Saxon soil by lengthening, contraction, umlaut, and palatalization, had a very wide range in all the dialects.

3. In Middle English, in the Southern and Midland dialects, open ę́ is of far more frequent occurrence than in the Kentish and Northern, in which two dialects, in A.S. times, it was of very rare occurrence.

4. In the Ormulum and in the dialect which gave rise to Standard English, close ē occurs frequently where W.S. exhibits ǣ (open). Three classes of these words are exemplified in sēd, hēh, hēran. Such words are probably from the Mercian which exhibits close ē for the W.S. ǣ, ēa, īe, respectively, in the given classes of words.

5. The sources of open and close ē in Middle English are those found on page 53.

6. M.E. ę́ is written ea in Modern English which is a traditional Southern spelling; M.E. ē is written ee. Great confusion

prevailed between these symbols till the latter part of the 16th century. Hence ea crept into some words, as hear, for example, where it had no right. ie was revived in the 17th century as a graphic representative of the close (ee)-sound.

7. In the 17th century M.E. ḗ became close ee, and in the 18th this became (ii) (high-front-narrow) except in a few words, as bear, swear, there, etc., in which the open ee, on account of the conserving influence of the following r was preserved. From this it follows as a corollary that the original open ee no longer exists as such in English.

8. M.E. ē in the latter part of the 15th century became ii in a few words, as he, bee, etc., and in the early part of the 17th century it became (ii) in all words.

9. Latin æ and œ, whenever introduced into English had the value of close ee at the period of their introduction and in their subsequent history have shared the development of this sound.

10. Early Modern English aa became ææ and in the latter part of the 17th century developed into open ee which was possibly narrowed in the latter part of the 18th.

11. Early Modern English ai became æi and in the latter part of the 17th century developed into open ee, thus coinciding with ei, the i vanishing. This sound of ai, ei continued and had the same development as aa. But in some words ei, in the 18th century, became narrow and was raised to ii (cf. seize, receipt, etc., especially words of French origin).

12. Open and close ee in many words from M.E. times to the present, have been undergoing the process of shortening before d, th, t, etc.